

The Commons

MARCH, 1905

GRAHAM TAYLOR, Editor

Edwin Balmer
Graham Romeyn Taylor } Assistant Editors

CONTENTS

With the Editor 133-136	The Russian Crisis: Its Industrial Significance 144
Democracy at the Door	An Interview with Professor Pavel Nikolaevich Milyukov
Even in Russia as Everywhere Else	William H. Baldwin, Jr., and the Progressive Democratic Spirit 152
Instinctive Movement of Laboring Life	By Charles Sprague Smith
Democracy in Politics and Industry	Fall River: Its Industrial Battle and Intolerable Peace 153
They Need Not Shudder Unless Competition or Public Monopoly against the Trusts	By Gertrude Barnum
Stand by the Children	The Manufacturing Problem of Fall River 157
Women's Club and Public Charities. 174	By Edward A. Filene
Institute of Social Science and Arts. 177	Citizenship Training in Our Public Schools 159
Lectures on Public Charities	By Henry W. Thurston
Notes and Articles of Social and Industrial Interest 180	Greenwich House 165
College Settlement Association 184	By Mrs. Mary King-bury Simkhovitch
From Social Settlement Centers 186	The Friends of Russian Freedom ... 171
CONTRIBUTED ARTICLES	By Alice Stone Blackwell
Chicago's Municipal Ownership Campaign 137	A Half Hour with a Revolutionist. 173
I. By John Maynard Harlan, Republican Candidate for Mayor of Chicago	By L. A. C. W.
II. By Judge Edward F. Dunne, Democratic Candidate for Mayor of Chicago	A New Line of Research 184
	By Elizabeth M. Rhodes

The Commons is a monthly magazine treating current events and promoting industrial justice, efficient philanthropy, educational freedom and the people's control of public utilities.

Price. The subscription price is One Dollar a year, payable in advance. Ten Cents a copy. Receipt of subscription is shown by the magazine being mailed.

Postage is Prepaid for all subscriptions in the United States, Hawaiian Islands, Philippine Islands, Porto Rico, Canada and Mexico. For all other countries in the Postal Union add Twenty-five Cents for postage.

How to Remit. Remittances should be sent by draft on Chicago, express-order or money-order payable to the order of THE COMMONS. Stamps will be received for single subscriptions. Cash should be sent in registered letter.

Changes of Address. When a change of address is ordered, both the new and old address must be given. The notice should be sent one week before the change is to take effect.

Discontinuances. The magazine will be discontinued at the expiration of the time for which subscription has been made.

Special Numbers of The Commons. Any number under twenty-five copies, ten cents each; over twenty-five and under one hundred, eight cents each; over one hundred, seven cents each (by express).

Advertising Rates. Subject to change without notice. One page, \$10.00; Half page, \$5.50; quarter page, \$3; eighth page, \$2 for each insertion. Bills paid during current month less 5%.

Letters should be addressed to

The Commons.

180 Grand Avenue, CHICAGO, ILL.



Entered at the Chicago Postoffice as second-class matter.



Barler

Ideal Oil Heaters

THERE should be at least one Barler Heater in every home—more if needed. But one is an absolute necessity for damp and chilly days, for emergency, and for a help in heating all the time. There are other oil stoves. **Be sure yours is a Barler.**

When you buy a Barler Heater you get comfort in heat that you have never known before—quick heat, healthful heat; heat without smoke, heat that you can move anywhere with safety, heat that you can regulate instantly, heat without trouble, heat for one cent an hour.

Our folder, sent free on request, describes the different styles, the superior construction and gives prices.

There is a dealer who sells Barler Ideal Heaters in nearly every town. If not, we will ship direct from Chicago, freight paid, giving the privilege of returning and money back if they do not work as we say. Write us to-day.

A.C. Barler Mfg. Co.

105 Lake Street
Chicago



Please mention THE COMMONS when writing to advertisers.

The Commons

Number 3—Vol. X

Tenth Year

Chicago, March, 1905

With The Editor

Democracy at the Door

"At the door of every generation," our citizen-poet, James Russell Lowell, long ago led us to expect "a knocking." Those within, he says, are always "slow to open." He pictures the porter grumbling as he answers the knock and muttering, "Who's there, in the name of Beelzebub?" But we are assured "they need not shudder, unless, like the thane of Cawdor, they have been doing some deed without a name." For at worst, he informs us, "it turns out to be a poor relation who wishes to come in out of the cold." In no more dangerous or menacing attitude does the outsider stand, to him who has the sense to say, "Enter, democracy."

Even in Russia as Everywhere Else

Well, at last the knock has been heard by this generation of Russians. They now know full well it is only their poor relations who have been kept standing out in the cold. The knocking, at first so timid and now so terrible, is only that of the bare hands of toiling men and women. The door was thick and heavy and guarded by the mailed hands of those only who have been taught to fight. And yet the household shuddered, for it had long been doing a "deed without a name" in not letting in the

very ones who had built the house, mined the coal, furnished the fare, made possible the cheer which kept the household warm. After the still more nameless deed of shedding the innocent blood of those who in simplicity came to say to their "little father," "Let us live," those within have need indeed to shudder.

Russia is not the only land where this knocking is heard. It sounds louder there just now than almost anywhere else, because the door has been kept shut closer and longer than elsewhere. But nowhere is there a closed door at which a pretty sharp knock is not now to be heard, and it has pretty much the same sound everywhere, though more intense and with different accent at some times than at others.

Always and everywhere it is the hand of the industrial classes that is knocking. So when it is heard in one land those on both sides of the door in every other land may well listen. For it is the whole working world's life that knocks at every door. In Russia they did not think it could be so. Were not their muzhiks the most illiterate, stationary and isolated workers in all the world? Were not the labor organizations by which other lands were disturbed forbidden there by the severest law, under

the ban of holy church, ferreted out by omnipresent secret police, or ruthlessly crushed by military power? Nevertheless, when the sudden cleavage let the light down into the depths at St. Petersburg there and at every other industrial center the workers were found to be organized. This is the greatest shock which the present crisis has thrust upon Russia, the greatest surprise it has given the world.

Instinctive Movement of Laboring Life

The "movement"—as those moved by it are wont to call the organization of labor—had been moving the common life there, as everywhere else. That it did so unconsciously, belatedly, not connected with and very different from labor organizations in other lands, adds to its impressiveness. Indeed, everywhere the history of the modern organization of labor is studied something far more impressive is to be discerned than the very ordinary leaders, forms of organization, measures and events in which it finds transient expression. For the fact, the force, the persistence and the growth of the "movement" make it seem more like one of those great human instincts, one of those elemental nature-forces with which the historian must reckon, even as the mariner with the pull of the moon upon the tides. Only such as regard it as a movement of life, with the respect due a fact of nature or a force shaping human destiny, are capable of sensing it to be what in such a crisis as this every one sees it is. To Russia, amazed at this unexpected capacity for organization and ideal laboring life suddenly looms large and in heroic mold.

All the world pays the homage to its do-or-die initiative which these of the

Russian professional classes who love freedom are now freely and gratefully yielding to the workers' heroic advance guard of liberty.

Should not the much-higher-grade men of the same laboring class, united for the same craft purposes in other lands, be recognized to be at least as capable of the same high aspirations and resolves?

Democracy in Politics and Industry

The inevitable connection between the industrial and political interests and activities of any class or people is also exemplified by these Russian workmen. The industrial peasants could be rallied only to make common cause in saving to their craft what is left of a livelihood. But even among them the common craft interests are so intensely personal as not only to bind them together for industrial action but to form a basis for a united political initiative that has thrilled the world. Think of men, only a small per cent of whom can read and write, few or none of whom had ever taken any part in politics or public affairs, daring so to petition a government from which they had nothing but denial to expect and braving massacre to present their plea for a living wage and constitutional government! What other form of religion or patriotism has been capable of lifting and holding the commonest men to higher or braver loyalty?

Why, then, should not this same craft brotherhood among other peoples be judged capable of similar achievement everywhere else? Why should not its higher possibilities be believed in, encouraged, developed and utilized for both political and industrial progress in our own and every land? How can it be justly or intelligently estimated or

dealt with when taken at its worst and kept from doing better by distrust and disinheritance? Whether or not regarded as one of the forces making for industrial and political progress, it cannot hereafter be denied to be a fact and a force with which civilization itself must reckon. For it is inherent in democracy to unite "the working classes," both for their political and economic advantage. Struggle for economic life and liberty leads not more surely in Russia to the stand for political rights and freedom than the political franchise in America leads inevitably to more of an industrial democracy.

But the demand for an industrial democracy is not for special privilege for the many, but only against special privilege for the few. Like old St. Francis, the cry of the masses to the classes is, "We will have no privilege except the privilege of having none." In accordance therewith the former court preacher, Dr. Stoecker, referring in the German reichstag to the coal operators' refusal to treat with their organized miners, served notice that "mine owners must give up their sovereignty and accept a constitution, as other kings have had to do." The same notice needs to be served at the door of every close corporation or closed union.

They Need not Shudder, Unless—

The folly and worse of trying to make each other shudder on either side of every closed door has twice been terribly demonstrated in history. If anything can be more wicked and wasteful than to force friends to be foes, peaceful petitioners to be like beasts at bay, men who ask only to be let live a human life to become their own avengers, then the French revolution and this Russian revolt must be exceeded to show it. Yet every bid for violence on

either side of our industrial strifes plays with the same incendiary fire. There is a braver, saner way than shuddering to bring to just arbitrament the real differences of manly men. Moreover, "they need not shudder," as Lowell shows. For, as he says, "Not a change for the better in our human housekeeping ever has taken place that wise and good men have not opposed it." And yet "it turns out at worst to be a poor relation who wishes to come in out of the cold," or, as Mazzini introduces the democratic stranger, "a people struggling into the sunshine."

Competition or Public Monopoly Against the Trusts

The struggle with the trusts has certainly assumed not only national proportions but a governmental significance hitherto unapproached. We have had grand-stand plays galore both at Washington and at every state capital, and some genuine legislative experience besides. But no such governmental action has yet taken place as the prosecution of the Packers' Combination by the National Administration, and the competition with the Standard Oil Company by the state of Kansas.

It remains to be seen whether this new phase of the situation is a closing scene in the thus far futile legislative experimentation, or whether it is a more promising beginning in earnest and honest legal action upon the part of national and state administrations.

In either event the public will inevitably find itself in imminent danger between the old horns of the economic dilemma — excessive competition or public monopolization. The temporary release from oppressive private monopoly which the restoration of competition gives, has always been followed by a scarcely more tolerable industrial wastefulness and deterioration. This in turn demands restriction of the competitive policy in the interest of business economy and public service alike. Kansas, however, opposing state competition to the private monopoly, goes far toward establishing the public monop-

oly of certain natural resources and common carrying.

So it is here we have it. The United States Government and the Supreme Court perch upon the horn of the dilemma which thrusts competition upon those to whose interests it is not to compete but to combine. It can scarcely fail to promote still more gigantic single corporations for the ownership and management of interests that are now legally, though fictitiously, competitive. All Kansas, with characteristic adventurous faith in its ideals, perches upon the other horn of the dilemma by assuring the square deal to all producers through public ownership of a refinery and public control of the private pipe lines as common carriers. This tends toward public ownership and operation of natural monopolies.

It will be interesting to see the issue of these two opposite tendencies of government "interference." Other states are likely to follow the example of Kansas if it proves successful. Then the wedge which the Inter State Commerce law entered will grow thicker and be driven in farther, as the necessity to regulate the industrial enterprises of the states in the interest of the nation forces "collective" legislation upon Congress.

The situation cleaves clear through to the foundation principles of the evolving order, which are destined to dominate the development of the American Commonwealth. Whatever that order may prove to be, it promises to differ materially from that which now is.

Stand by the Children

Two years ago Illinois passed a child labor law; today that law is in danger. Two years ago the proposed change was bitterly fought by one of the great commercial powers of the state, today the same vested interest is plotting the death of the law. Two years ago the glass manufacturers made a pitiable and fictitious confession that they could not run their plants unless they used child labor. "If you deprive us of the children," they declared, "it means the ruin

of the glass industry in this state. We will not be able to withstand competition from other states."

What has happened? Today all the glass blowing plants are in full operation and there has been an increase of two in their number. The glass manufacturers have convicted themselves of being in error so far as their statements of two years ago are concerned. This ought to be sufficient to make these men shamefacedly acknowledge their mistake by keeping quiet. Not so with brazen greed. They are now leading in a concerted movement of all the industrial lines, whose profits have been reduced through the operation of the law, to amend it so that they can resume their exploitation of the children. That's the plain fact of it: dollars are to consume childhood. Already four of the business interests, branches of whose trade have "suffered" through the emancipation of the factory child, have met and united in employing an able lawyer lobbyist for the purpose of amending out of existence the most protective feature of the law.

Turn for one glance only at what that law has done. It has kept the children of Chicago in school and out of the factories. According to the school statistics for some years previous to the operation of the law the normal and natural per cent of increase in school attendance amounted to about one third of what the increase has been since the law has been in force.

The Child Labor Law in Illinois requires an educational test before beginning work; makes the affidavit effective, thus preventing the employment of children under fourteen; stops night work of children; protects from dangerous occupations; restricts the work of children under sixteen to eight hours a day. As a result of the enactment and enforcement of the new Child Labor Law, the employment of child labor has greatly decreased in this state.

If the people are heard from there will be no return to the old conditions. Let the legislature give heed and stand by the children.

Chicago's Campaign for Municipal Ownership

Two Special Articles for The Commons by

John Maynard Harlan

and

Judge Edward F. Dunne

Republican Candidate for Mayor

Democratic Candidate for Mayor

Foreword by the Editor

The municipal campaigns of Chicago have had a habit of assuming national significance. And it is not as a weather vane of mere partisan drift that the city's local campaigns have commanded the attention of the country. Chicago is the industrial and political storm center of the American Commonwealth. In the midst of all that implies, and partly because of it, we venture to think, there is being forged out the most constructive and hopeful progress now being made toward the democratic out-working of the problems of the American municipality.

Chicago is the first of our great cities to lay broad and deep the foundations for better civic purpose and life, in the thoroughgoing regeneration of its common council. She may be said to have outgrown the day and need of sporadic spasms of "reform." Her campaigns are now fought out in the open on the broad lines of statesmanlike principles and policies.

The traction problem as a political issue was discovered in 1897. In that year a man arose all by himself and made the dare-devil statement that the middle of the streets belonged to the people of the city and they had a right to do with their own property as they saw fit. He even had the presumption to run independently for mayor of Chicago on that issue. No ridicule or vituperation was sufficient to express the disgust of conservative vested interests for the author of such preposterous opinions. Single handed and with the backing of no "organization" he fought through that campaign. But the people spoke out to the tune of 70,000 who broke the party ties. With that mighty roar came in the era of the independent vote.

As we look back at that impressive waymark in the light of the present situation we are brought to a fresh realization of the onward march of ruling ideas. The same man who made the fight in 1897 is to-day seeking the mayoralty of Chicago with a more radical statement of opinions than those formerly so "rampant." We will not attempt to summarize them, for John Maynard Harlan speaks for himself in this number of *THE COMMONS*. Yet behold the miracle of eight short years! To-day he is receiving the support of the conservative elements of the community. This time it is the opponent of John Maynard Harlan who is the "dangerous radical." We are glad also to welcome to this number of *THE COMMONS* and to present for equal consideration, the strong and able presentation of his position that Judge Edward F. Dunne contributes.

Municipal ownership of the street car lines is the slogan in this campaign and that principle wins regardless of who becomes the next mayor of Chicago. Eight years ago the extreme of radicalism was the proposition that the people had anything to say at all about the use of their streets. To-day the difference between the radical and the conservative, neither of which terms fits the candidacy of either man, is solely on *how* we shall proceed to municipal ownership of the street car lines. The people of Chicago have "spoken" in the past, they know how to speak intelligently, and they are going to keep on managing their own affairs. Whatever the outcome of this campaign, Chicago stands forth as the great city of the whole people, and her chief executive will be the people's mayor.

By John Maynard Harlan

In the storms of a political campaign we must not forget to watch the compass. The municipal ship must be kept straight on its course. We are headed for a proper solution of the traction question. The ship must not go on the rocks, but must be brought into harbor

safely. The compass points to the will of the people. That is our true course.

The streets of Chicago belong to the people of Chicago. The traction problem is the people's problem. It must be settled in accordance with their enlightened judgment. The Republican

city platform has pledged its candidates, and I have pledged myself that only the people themselves shall decide their own problem and shall determine what shall be done with their own streets. If we keep the municipal ship true on that course no mistake can be made. It will arrive safely in the harbor and the people will be content with what they themselves have decided.

If, as we contend, the traction problem is the people's problem, should the people not have opportunity to say the final word upon it? Our opponents say that the people have already had their say and have declared for municipal ownership. They claim that this disposes of the people in connection with the matter. They say that there is no need for consulting the people again and that it only remains for the proper authorities to proceed to bring about municipal ownership as quickly as possible. *Is it ever a mistake to consult the people about their own business?* The makers of the Democratic platform assume that they already know what the people want. Do they also know how the people wish to get it? Do they know that the people of this community are willing to pay \$80,000,000 of their money for the rights of the traction companies?

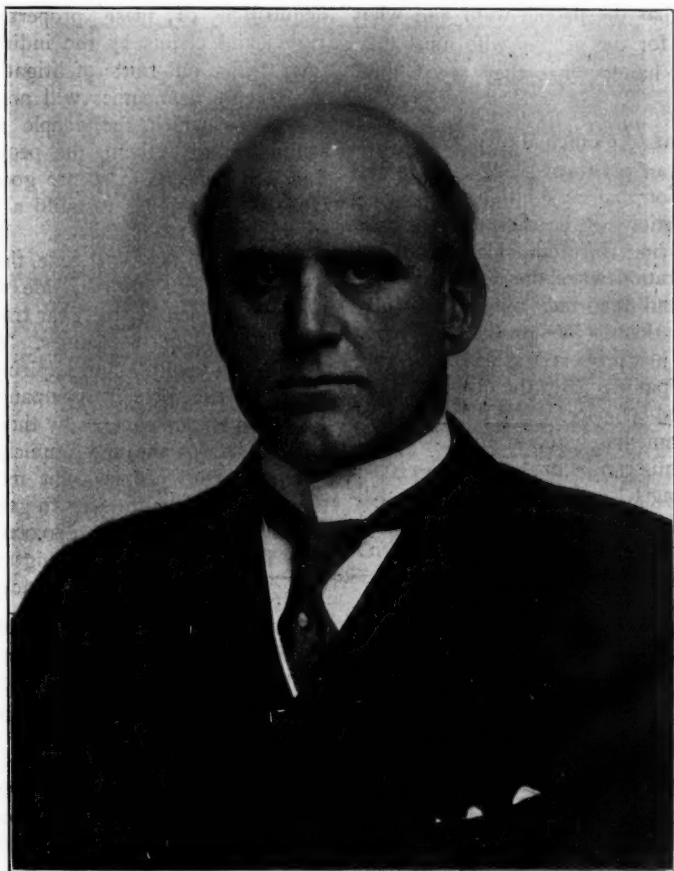
The Democratic candidate does not propose to ask the opinion of the people on that question. He says to the people in effect "You may have municipal ownership in one of two ways and not otherwise. Either you must pay the traction companies for their properties the price agreed upon by arbitrators that we shall appoint, or you must pay them the price awarded by the court in case we think it best to condemn these properties." In either event the people must pay the price. They are denied the right to choose some other and more feasible way of obtaining municipal ownership. They are not even permitted to say whether they would prefer a condemnation proceeding or an arbitration. After fighting for many years for the right to settle this traction question, the people are now told that the details of the method

of settlement are something that does not concern them.

The traction question affects the happiness and convenience of our citizens more than any other single municipal problem, yet they are now told that the question is to be settled for them according to a program agreed upon by one or two men. It is the question of the whole people. But the proposition is to let it be settled by a mere committee of one or two men. If all knowledge on this question were lodged in the bosom of these one or two men; if they knew better what the people wish than the people themselves know, they might presume to tell the people that they have determined to solve the question according to their judgment. But this is not the fact. All knowledge on the traction question is not lodged in the bosom of one or two men. The people at large through years of study and experience in the traction question have acquired a deep understanding of it. To an extent that is probably not true of the people of any other equally large city in the world, the people of Chicago are traction experts. They are entitled to be heard. They will and ought to insist upon an opportunity to be heard, and no plan should be finally adopted until the people shall have had a chance to express disapproval of it if not in accordance with their judgment. The people's own seal must be stamped upon any plan of settlement.

I am confident that the city council would refuse to pass any ordinance relating to a solution of the traction problem that has been voted down by the people. But I give my word that should the council act contrary to my expectation and pass such an ordinance, I will veto it and exert my power to the utmost to prevent its passage over my veto.

The Republican Party therefore proposes in this campaign to fight for the referendum. It proposes to take up the traction question immediately and to keep at it without stopping until a plan of settlement is formulated. But it proposes that this plan shall not take effect until it has become apparent that



JOHN MAYNARD HARLAN

Republican Candidate for Mayor of Chicago

the people approve it. The Republican Party has asked the Democratic Party to do the same.

It has called upon that party to put its trust in the people's wisdom. It has called attention to the fact that the personal platform of its candidate for mayor indicated that he had no desire to consult the people on the question or any faith in the capacity of the people to settle their own affairs wisely. On the eve of the Democratic city convention it was publicly requested to embody in its platform a pledge of an op-

portunity for a referendum upon any proposed solution of the traction problem. But that convention ignored the appeal. It does not propose that the people shall have an opportunity to safeguard their own rights in their own streets.

In the event of the election of the Democratic ticket there will be no referendum. The people will have no say in the traction matter. The question will be settled for them by the wise men of that party. The "Elder Statesmen" of the Democratic Party claim to

know what the people want and what is good for the people, who must take at their hands what they are willing to give.

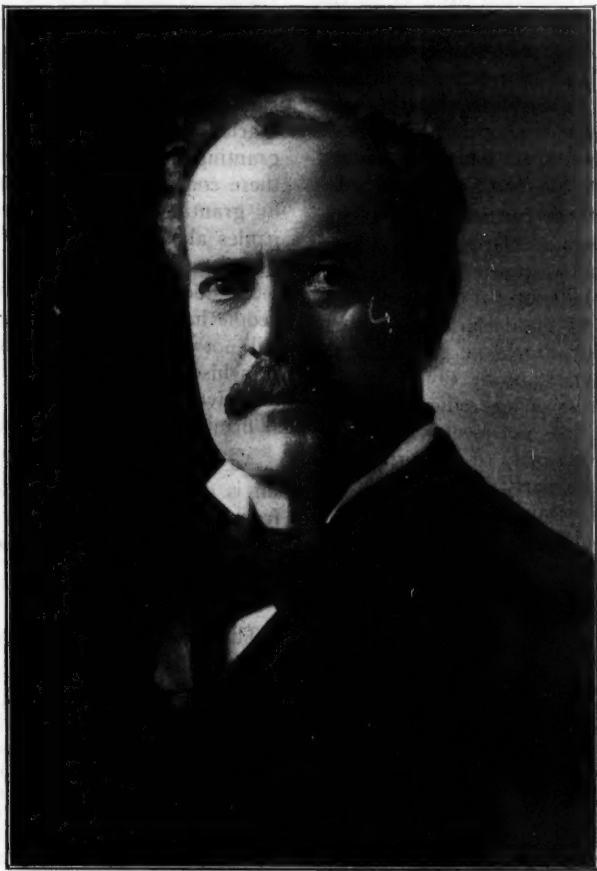
Now as to municipal ownership. The Republican platform pledges us to the proposition that no solution of the traction question will be accepted that does not provide for municipal ownership and operation when the people shall be legally and financially able successfully to adopt them. We propose to recognize the just property rights of the traction companies. But the question must be settled at once. "We propose to move immediately upon their works." If no terms can be made that the people are willing to accept, then the door will be closed to all further negotiations, and there will be war to the end with no quarter asked and none to be given.

The Democratic platform proposes to pay the traction companies a "fair, liberal and a full price" for their properties, rights and claims. The candidate of that party thinks \$80,000,000 the probable price that the people would be willing to pay for the properties and rehabilitation of the lines. But he does not propose that the people themselves shall say or have the opportunity of saying what they will be willing to pay. He proposes to reserve that question for his own decision in negotiation with the traction companies. If they cannot agree, then the Democratic proposition is to go to law about it and to condemn if possible the rights of the traction companies. No more certain method could be devised to delay actual municipal ownership for many years, instead of bringing it nearer to us, than this proposal to drag it through long, tedious and expensive processes of litigation.

The Republican plan of action does not contemplate the payment of \$80,000,000. It does not contemplate the

acquisition of these properties and rights, and claims by the indirect and long drawn out route of litigation. If the traction companies will not accept the terms which the people may be willing to give them, the people will take other means to secure good service. We are going to build a subway in the down town district. We will find streets on the West Side, the South Side and on the North Side that are now unoccupied by street car tracks and we will build our own lines. We will pick up the expired and expiring franchises of the present companies and make the streets covered by those franchises parts of the new municipal system. If the people want municipal ownership, this is the way to get it, and not by offering to pay \$80,000,000 of their money for the sea-going cars and elongated junk laid as car tracks.

The referendum is the key stone of the whole matter. If the people are assured of a chance for the final word at the polls on the traction question, they can rest assured that it will be solved properly. Any solution so made will be the people's own solution and not a solution by one or two men. If the opportunity be reserved to the people to vote on any plan that may be arrived at, the people themselves can protect their own rights. Their streets cannot be exploited by the traction interests when the people themselves have an opportunity to veto any solution of the traction problem that may be proposed. On the other hand, if this opportunity is denied to them, as it is by the Democratic Party, there is danger of losing what through many years we have fought for. A thousand plausible promises of a right settlement may be given by a few self-appointed men, but so long as there is no promise that the people shall have a chance to veto the proposed settlement, there is no real security or safety for the people.



JUDGE EDWARD F. DUNNE

Democratic Candidate for Mayor of Chicago

By Judge Edward F. Dunne

In the coming campaign the issues between the democratic and republican parties as made in their platforms and between Mr. Harlan and myself can be crystalized into a few words. The republican platform and Mr. Harlan stand before the people as being in favor of an extension of franchises to the present companies as the solution of the traction muddle. The democratic party and

myself stand committed to a solution of this question by the refusal of any extension of franchises to these or any other companies and the acquisition of the present plants or the building of new ones; to acquire by negotiation if possible and failing that, to acquire by condemnation or by other legal methods and bring about municipal ownership.

The republican platform in no place

pledges the republican party or its candidate not to give an extension of franchises. It does state that an opportunity for a referendum should be afforded, but the public all know that the referendum proposed is a referendum under the public policy act which is not binding upon the Mayor or City Council.

The platform further with Machiavellian evasion declares that no franchise *should* be granted that does not meet with the approval of our citizens. This is simply the declaration of a truism. No law should be passed by the common council, or by the legislature or by congress or any other legislative body which does not meet with the approval of a majority of the citizens. If the republican party had desired to be manful and straightforward with the people, it should have declared that no franchise *shall* be granted that does not meet with the approval of the citizens of Chicago upon a referendum.

That the republican party and Mr. Harlan are both committed to an extension of franchises is also shown by these significant facts. All of the newspapers that are now advocating the election of Mr. Harlan declared over and over gain last summer that the so-called tentative ordinance was a good and satisfactory solution of the issue between the people and the traction companies. They endeavored to rush the so-called tentative ordinance through the council without a referendum and were prevented from so doing only by a storm of protest signed by approximately 134,000 voters of this community.

After that significant declaration of public sentiment, Mr. Harlan gravely declares that he is for a settlement of the traction difficulties.

In view of the fact that 134,000 citizens have declared against an extension of franchises and that these companies through their agents have declared in the public press—the traction press—

repeatedly that the so-called tentative ordinance is unfair to the traction companies and that the ordinance should provide for a flat twenty year extension,—how in the name of reason is Mr. Harlan to bring about a settlement by granting an extension of franchises to these companies? It can only be done by granting a franchise to these companies along the lines of the so-called tentative ordinance or a franchise much more liberal to these companies. The people have already declared that they will not consent to any such outrageous franchise as is indicated in the so-called tentative ordinance and they are just as firmly of that opinion today.

As further indicating that Mr. Harlan is committed to an extension of a franchise of the character of the so-called tentative ordinance, let me quote from the papers that are now advocating his election:

The *Chicago Post* in its issue of Feb. 14th declares,

"What is needed is a majority of honest, capable aldermen who *will* grant a reasonable franchise for twenty years on fair terms as to compensation to the city and first-class service. . . . We can make the best terms with capital by granting the longest term possible—namely, twenty years. Every year we clip from that term we clip something of greater value from either the compensation to the city or the quality of the service to the citizen."

The *Chicago Chronicle* on Feb. 26th, 1905, after the republican platform was published and after Mr. Harlan had made his speech of acceptance, declares, quoting from the republican platform,

"No solution will be accepted which does not make effective and genuine provision for municipal ownership and operation when the city shall be legally and financially able successfully to adopt it." If, as many think, that time will never come, then the time will never come when Mr. Harlan will advocate municipal ownership."

This is the interpretation put upon the

republican platform and Mr. Harlan's speech by one of Mr. Harlan's traction organs.

Again the *Chronicle* on March 3, 1905, declares,

"In spite of a good deal of talk about what the people of Chicago may do at some time in the remote future, the issue as joined between Mr. Harlan and Judge Dunne amounts to the assertion by the former that municipal ownership of street railways is impossible and to the declaration by the latter that it is not only possible but desirable and that steps to that end should be taken at once. . . . Mr. Harlan pronounces immediate municipal ownership an impossibility and shows that even if it were desirable to adopt that policy, the city is not now and will not be for years to come in a position to do so. . . . Mr. Harlan makes this so plain that he does not even take the trouble to present an argument for or against municipal ownership. . . . Thanks to Mr. Harlan's vigorous treatment of the case, the mists have been swept away and no one need now be deceived who does not wish to be. Municipal ownership now or at any other time within the lives of this generation is impossible."

This is the way Mr. Harlan is construed by his own backers. The people are not and will not be deceived. In substance Mr. Harlan and the republican platform stand today opposed to municipal ownership and operation while professing to favor it in the future. In other words they are for municipal ownership that will not own and for municipal operation that will not operate.

The democratic platform on the contrary declares for immediate municipal

ownership and points out the way whereby it can be put in force. The Mueller bill has removed any and all legal objections to the same and in my speech of acceptance to the convention, I think I have clearly shown how the finances can be obtained to put municipal ownership and operation into force without assessing the citizens of Chicago to the extent of one single dollar.

On the part of the democrats we declare for municipal ownership and municipal ownership now. On the part of the republicans, Mr. Harlan, as his position is interpreted by his own backers, is opposed to municipal ownership in this day and generation.

This is the issue as made up and presented to the people. As to what their answer will be I have no reasonable doubt.

Municipal ownership and operation of street cars is now in force in over 150 great cities in the old world, in England, Ireland, Scotland, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Austria-Hungary as well as in Australasia. The people of Chicago are just as honest, intelligent and capable of managing their own affairs as the citizens of these other cities. To hold to the contrary is to indict the people of Chicago of ignorance and corruption. The republican party has framed this indictment and the democratic party will bring about a verdict of "not guilty," on the first Tuesday of next April.

The Russian Crisis: Its Industrial Significance

From an Interview with Professor Pavel Nikolaevich Milyukov

EDITOR'S NOTE: Though in no sense an exponent of radicalism, judged by our standards, Professor Milyukov during his early student days showed an inclination to urge moderate reforms for Russia of such "dangerous" character that he was suspended from studying at his university for a year. When he became a teacher, successful and popular with young men, the very success of a man in such a position, known to hold views we would term moderately liberal, was "harmful" enough to warrant his dismissal from the faculty; one of his heinous crimes consisted in his introduction of the university extension idea. Not content with this interruption of his life work, the sinister influence of the Russian bureaucracy followed him even across the border and put a stop to his teaching in a Bulgarian university. Subsequently arrested in Russia and brought before the late (assassinated) Von Plehve, Professor Milyukov was characterized by that astute inquisitor as an "irreconcilable," yet of such influence that it would be a "serious blunder to imprison so great an authority, thus only enhancing his importance in the eyes of the nation."

To America Professor Milyukov has lately become widely known as a lecturer on Russian topics. He has just completed a course at the University of Chicago, suggested by Mr. C. R. Crane of Chicago, who used his influence in securing the consent of the lecturer to come to this country for the purpose. His well known books, "Chief Currents of Russian Historical Thought" and "History of Russian Civilization," have assured his fame among academic authorities both here and in Europe; and Professor Leo Wiener of Harvard University has spoken of him as "one of the foremost of contemporary Russian scholars."

He was preparing to cross the Atlantic when the zemstvos movement was initiated with such suddenness in St. Petersburg. Immediately he boarded a train and passed several days in that city, informing himself in great detail upon the whole situation. So thoroughly conversant is he with the economic and industrial significance of the present crisis, that the editor of *THE COMMONS* cannot too strongly emphasize the value of the following interpretation of the organization and methods of popular and working class movements in Russia,—an interpretation by a man who, as Professor Wiener writes, is of such importance at home "that he may be asked at any moment to return to Russia in order to take a leading part in any political reorganization to which he may be called by the consensus of public opinion." It may be added that by the time this number of *THE COMMONS* reaches its readers, Professor Milyukov will be on his way back to St. Petersburg, his departure having been delayed only in order that he might make the final revisions in his book on the "Russian Crisis," soon to be issued by the University of Chicago Press.

The interview which one of the editors of *THE COMMONS* was privileged to have with Professor Milyukov came most fortunately just a few days after the latter had received several long communications from friends in St. Petersburg, written subsequently to and explanatory of the events connected with the demonstration and massacre before the winter palace on Sunday afternoon, January 22.

To ask the rights of the Magna Charta and an eight hour day all in the same breath seems to the Anglo-Saxon most incongruous and startling. Yet this is just what the Russian workingmen are doing. Coupled in the same list are demands for the right of free petition and for economic reforms which English and American trade unions are still struggling to obtain.

POLITICAL REFORMS AS A STEP TO THE ECONOMIC.

But the significant thing about the Russian progressive movement has been that it began with the economic

demands some years ago, and the emphasis has been recently placed on the necessity of gaining political reforms only as a means to a realization of the new economic conditions. Political reforms are not asked for as an end in themselves but only as a help toward relieving the terrible industrial conditions that weigh down the lives of the Russian working classes.

The truth of this was well shown by the fact that the men who were led up to the Winter Palace on the afternoon of January 22 were workmen on strike. For a discussion of the industrial significance of the present Russian

crisis one of the editors of THE COMMONS recently called upon Professor Pavel Nikolaevich Milyukov, the distinguished Russian scholar who is now in this country. How was it that a strike involving the illegal organization of workingmen could even have started in

not know that relentless fury was all that revolutionists or men who disregarded the regulations against organization of any sort could hope to expect from the well known cruelty of the evil geniuses that presided over the policies of the bureaucracy? Such was the



Professor Pavel Nikolaevich Milyukov

Russia? Why was it that the workingmen exhibited a pathetic faith in and blind loyalty to the "little father" that has excited the wonderment of the world? Childishly simple minded must have been the peasant workmen who actually believed that their petition would be heard by the czar; too optimistic and easy of faith must have been those leaders who so confidently brought together the defenceless mass of men with their families when slaughter appeared inevitable. Did they

comment of the world—not a disposition to find fault, but a feeling of pity at the sacrifice of victims who were foolhardy to think that any other result could have happened.

THE TRUTH ABOUT JANUARY 22.

An amazing fact, almost totally unknown heretofore in America and throwing a most illuminative sidelight upon the events of last month, was made clear by Professor Milyukov in reply to the foregoing enquiry; and his

information is based upon advices he has received within the last few days from friends in St. Petersburg, in whose detailed and accurate knowledge of the situation he has entire confidence. Indeed, the Russian government itself in a recent statement or manifesto, of which no report has reached this country, acknowledged the same thing. *So far from being revolutionists or members of the socialist party, the men who went up to the Winter Palace on the twenty-second of last January had been organized into a workmen's association under the special direction of the government and under its police protection.*

It is evident in view of this fact that the faith these men exhibited in the czar was not so blind and simple-minded as not to be based upon a reasonable confidence that this protection would be continued. They believed that, inasmuch as the administration had taken the lead in organizing them, the head of that administration could not fail to show a real interest in their welfare and in their peaceable and humble efforts to relieve a condition of existence so desperate that to keep body and soul together was seemingly next to impossible.

The world was horror struck at the cruel massacre of men seeking the right to tell their story and petition for mercy. The awful enormity of that crime against humanity is fully appreciated only as one understands that the order to fire and for the Cossacks to charge was given by the very power that instigated the organization of the workmen against whom—when they sought to gain some real advantage from the association—the fire of death, the sabres of savage ruffians and the mangling hoofs of charging horses were directed.

THE LAWS AGAINST ORGANIZATION.

The history of workmen's organizations in Russia, and how events led up to the extraordinary result indicated, was outlined by Professor Milyukov in a way that cannot fail to arouse the in-

terest of all observers of social and industrial forces. It must always be kept in mind when discussing the movement in Russia that the strictest laws prevail against any form of organization or combination of citizens for any purpose whatsoever. This imposes at the outset conditions so radically different from those existing elsewhere that it is next to impossible to compare the organization of workmen in Russia with that of other countries. To participate in a strike, a perfectly legal step in most civilized countries, is a serious crime in Russia—not because strikes are prohibited as such, but because a strike is combined action, any sort of which is criminal. At the same time it must be recognized that the law is not absolutely and rigidly enforced. For, during the past twenty years there have been numerous unmolested strikes; and were all the workmen who participated in them to be punished, it would affect no inconsiderable part of the population in the industrial centers.

The socialists, whose secret organization of the workers has been responsible for most of the strikes, have been increasing in strength very rapidly during the past ten years. Though the police have been rigorous in enforcing the law against them wherever they have been found holding meetings and pushing their propaganda, the futility of trying to inflict the penalties of the law on all of the men who strike, even though their action is suspected or known to be the result of socialist agitation, is recognized by the officials.

THE BUREAUCRACY IN THE ROLE OF "WORKINGMAN'S FRIEND."

Some five years ago the government suddenly veered around in its tactics. The law holding all organization to be illegal was allowed to sink into the background and the government went so far to the other extreme as actually to encourage the organization of workmen. The whole purpose of this change of policy was to steer workmen away from the socialist party, which was beginning to make

its strength felt more than ever. Protection by the police and encouragement by officials toward winning particular strikes was thought to offer such inducements to the average workingman that he would not think of allying himself with a movement for greater ultimate reforms, which for the time being placed its members in hazardous secrecy at best and exposed them to the full extreme of the law if caught. Workingmen would fight shy of socialism, thought the government officials, if they were helped by the bureaucratic power in their struggles with employers. So it actually happened that official pressure was brought to bear in cases of strikes of workmen organized under government supervision, and the manufacturers were forced to grant their men concessions. In some instances the concession was obtained before resort to strike was necessary.

Not only were the police instructed to protect this movement, but they were the ones commissioned to initiate it and encourage its growth, always keeping a close eye, however, upon all meetings and discussions. These were of course quite as illegal as ever, but were allowed to parts of the organization in Moscow, western Russia and St. Petersburg. This government scheme of labor organization came to be known as the "Zubatoff Movement" from the name of an officer of the Moscow police who was very zealous in carrying out the program. In Poland, however, the socialists were so very strong that no attempt was made by the government to put its plan into operation.

WHO JOINED THE NEW ORGANIZATION.

As for the sort of men who joined this protected organization, they were for the most part those who had not been educated up to a comprehension of the socialist aims. Some few, however, were socialists at heart who thought that here was a good chance to make use of a temporary liberality of the government for the purposes of organization. They hoped that eventually, when the government should tire of its policy

or be convinced of its mistakes, the whole movement could be swung bodily over to the socialist party. But generally speaking, the socialists throughout the country were very bitter at the new movement, feeling that it was a serious handicap to the spread of socialist agitation—as in fact it proved to be in many of the smaller towns. They did not realize that the very thing the government was doing would prove an entering wedge for education and a precedent that in all probability would become later if not sooner an embarrassment to the officials.

THE GOVERNMENT PROVES FICKLE.

This very state of affairs was not long in coming about, and the ministers of the bureaucracy, finding the scheme to be in reality a most dangerous expedient, began to change their attitude toward it. The first result of this coldness became apparent in the punishment of certain members of the police who were too eager in pushing the enterprise. Then little by little police protection was withdrawn from the movement, the beginning of the year 1904 marking the practical abandonment of its scheme by the government.

In St. Petersburg this government movement was known as the "Assembly of Factory Workers," and Father Gopon was one of the leaders in its organization. When the manufacturers saw that the officials would no longer give protection to the assemblies of workingmen, they decided to turn the tables and force concessions from the men. They met last December and resolved to dismiss such of their employees as belonged to the organization. By the end of the month they had not only discharged certain of these workmen but had also appointed some foremen who were known to be unsympathetic to the men. One of the universal demands of the workingmen is that they shall have something to say in nominating foremen. The latter generally take advantage of their position for all sorts of extortion, arbitrary use of the power to fine, and graft in general. They are

therefore very much hated by the men, who insist that the candidates for foremen be presented and controlled by them. These two issues, the dismissal of men belonging to the association formerly protected by the government itself, and the appointment of odious foremen, were the causes of the St. Petersburg strike. Inasmuch as they were in no respect more radical than union demands which the government had frequently backed up when it was actively supporting the movement, the men felt confident that the officials would continue to protect them against the manufacturers. They did not realize that the government had experienced a change of heart. In a spirit of undiminished confidence, therefore, the strike, organized first in the Putiloff works, was rapidly spread until it included over 100 other factories. This misplaced reliance on continued government protection explains the peaceful character of the strike and why, when the time came, the workingmen addressed the czar as loyal subjects without thought of armed revolution.

SOCIALIST INFLUENCE FORGES TO THE FRONT.

During the growth of the strike movement, the manufacturers showing no signs of yielding, new sorts of demands began to be put forward. This is where the growing socialist influence began to be felt. Tracing the course of events down to the demonstration of last January and the attendant massacre, it is not difficult to understand why the workers took so decided a socialistic turn when their hopes were shattered and the czar refused to listen to their petition. All at once the truth broke upon them that the government was not sincerely interested in their welfare when it organized the Assembly of Factory Workers. The secret of the scheme as a mere offset to socialism became manifest.

The whole history of governmental interference in industrial affairs shows how the bureaucracy tried to keep its authority supreme against manufactur-

ers and workers alike. Playing one against the other, lending help to one side and then to the other, pitting as many of the workers as possible against the socialists in order that the strength of the latter should be impaired as much as possible—all these were parts of the same policy. The succession of laws regulating work in factories illustrates well the vacillating character of this policy and its pretense of granting reforms that proved to be only nominal concessions intended merely to placate the workers instead of affording them real relief.

RUSSIAN FACTORY LAWS.

Three sets of factory reforms have been adopted, in each case after some strong strike demonstration on the part of workingmen, and always a gradual slump into non-enforcement has taken place. A period of about twenty years is covered by these laws. The first group came during the years 1882 to 1886 directly after the first strikes of workingmen; the second set were published in 1897 after large strikes in 1895 and 1896—these were practically the first strikes on a large scale; and third set came into existence in 1903 after similar industrial disturbances. A short summary of the contents and provisions of these various laws may be of interest.

The first laws, those of 1882-1886, introduced some limitations as to the age of workingmen. No children were permitted to be employed until 12 years of age, and from 12 to 15 were only allowed to work eight hours a day with an interval at the end of the first four hours. Only after they had reached the age of 17 were they allowed to work full time. The government also obliged the manufacturers to give the children some free hours in which to go to school, and imposed restrictions on night work. Manufacturers were made to stipulate conditions of employment in written contracts. Before this, employers took the liberty of changing the conditions arbitrarily. For the first few years the government tried to enforce

these laws. Inspectors were appointed who really tried to see that the regulations were obeyed, and some manufacturers were compelled to submit to strict control. But the latter soon found a way of getting round the law by employing women and paying them as low wages as formerly had been given to children. And the government, to keep the manufacturers pacified and reasonably contented, dismissed the most eager of the inspectors. Thus it was not long before the law became practically a dead letter.

The chief point in the law of 1897 was in regard to the number of hours that should constitute a legal working day. The workmen demanded a 10-hour day and this practically exists now in western Russia, Russian Poland, and in some government works, the ministry of war in particular. St. Petersburg manufacturers had nothing against this law so long as it was evenly enforced making competition equal. But those in Moscow were against it and insisted on a 12-hour day. Finally a majority of the manufacturers agreed in favor of an 11-hour day. The government in announcing the law added a half hour, thereby making the legal work day to consist of 11½ hours. In addition to this, overtime was allowed not exceeding 120 hours a year. It must be remembered that these are the laws as publicly declared. Quite as important were the private instructions, that went out from the officials, the effects of which practically nullified the laws, so that enforcement bore little relation to the actual provisions of the measures. The consequence was that the law satisfied no one. The government, as usual was continually vacillating between the demands of the workers and those of the manufacturers. So little are the laws obeyed that in many industries a working day of as many as 18 hours is not uncommon.

The third set of laws, those of 1903, brought out an important provision that throws considerable light on the present situation. An attempt was made to start workmen's accident insurance.

The law obliged manufacturers to insure every employe in his factory. A pension for life of two-thirds of his wage was stipulated in case of a disabling accident. In the event of death, if the factory was to blame, the family of the deceased workman was entitled to a like amount. This insurance regulation caused much grumbling among the manufacturers. Some works were large and could afford to comply with the law, but no little hardship was imposed on the smaller factories. Now, in the last manifesto of the czar, one of the promises is to give the workmen state insurance. Instead, however, of being a concession to the men, it will readily be seen to be a concession to the manufacturers in relieving them of the burden of providing this insurance. What appeared to the uninformed onlooker as an emulation of Germany's policy toward the laboring classes was no such thing, but rather a measure calculated to allay the growing discontent of the manufacturers, a perfect example of the continual shifting of governmental favor, first to the side of the increasingly insistent workmen, and then to the side of the employers whose patience was exhausted by the never ending annoyance of official interference.

Such were the factory laws of Russia—always half-way measures adopted at times of high pressure from a strong workmen's movement, very often put on paper without even the intention of being enforced, and invariably meeting with every sort of opposition from the manufacturers. These conditions helped far more than hindered the growth of the socialists. It was so much the simpler for them to show that the government would not keep its promises unless forced, and that at best the workmen could only gain temporary concessions from the bureaucracy. The genuine workmen's movement was from the very beginning socialist and has not in any considerable degree been hampered or kept back by the governmental scheme or organization. When the real hand of the govern-

ment was at last shown, the net results of that scheme were found to be that a large proportion of the membership went straight into the socialist ranks.

DEVELOPMENT OF RUSSIAN SOCIALISM.

When the socialists first formulated their program about thirty years ago, it was aimed entirely at the overthrow of the present government, seeking to substitute the co-operative commonwealth in all its completeness as worked out in the brains of the socialist thinkers of western Europe. One difficulty in the path of the thorough-going socialist party is the fact that the mass of the peasants are agriculturists and are hard to bring into line with the workmen in factories. At the same time, many of the latter are still partly agriculturalists, employed in the factories only in the winter and returning to rural work in summer. They are therefore in a position to help greatly in spreading among the purely agricultural workers the socialist doctrines preached during the winter in the factory centers.

The position of the socialists has changed from an insistence on the economic demands to a recognition that a political revolution must come first. They now realize that only through the political reforms can they put themselves in a position to bring about the economic changes. They are convinced that the autocracy has first to be driven out of existence before any economic struggle on a large scale will be possible. The economic significance of the present impending political revolution is now more clearly seen. For most of the organizations now struggling for political freedom are not fighting for that in itself and as an end; they are striving to gain that freedom only in order that they may proceed to achieve the economic and industrial democracy which has been the ultimate ideal from the very beginning.

ITS SECRET ORGANIZATION.

The marvelous extent of this secret socialistic organization would completely astonish an American who imagines

that the necessity of working in the dark presents an almost insuperable difficulty in the path of the propaganda. Committees are to be found in all the important points where factories exist. A handful of students, scattering pamphlets and other literature of the propaganda among the workers, is usually responsible for the formation of these groups and committees. This system of education has been so thorough that it has resulted not infrequently in bringing forward strong workingmen able to assume leadership. The movement, however, is still headed up in large part by the students. The isolated groups are not at all dependent upon their own resources alone, nor are they ignorant of what is being done by other groups all over the country. Quite the contrary, for each knows in detail what is going on in every other center and what are the plans of the central committee. This latter supreme authority in the movement—for discipline of the strictest sort—is maintained throughout—formulates the general program, leaving the individual groups to adapt it and their manifestations and demonstrations to suit local conditions, everything subject, however, to approval or censure from the central committee.

A strong general publication is maintained, published abroad and smuggled into the country, while there are many secret printing presses and manifold-ing machines in operation under the direction of the local groups.

THE STUDENTS.

The educated classes of Russia are all bitterly opposed to the government, and all who are not socialists are glad enough to co-operate with the socialists at least for the purpose of securing political freedom and the overthrow of the autocracy. The students in large majority are out and out socialists. They have adopted that theory of government not because driven to its blind acceptance through the pressure of economic conditions, but because they have given time and attention to studying the thing out. It is a fact not very well

understood in this country that large numbers of students are not from the wealthy classes or the nobility, but are drawn from poorer families. Many of them come from what under the old order was the lower gentry, who are now reduced to a state of comparative poverty. The support of impecunious students comes from private sources and philanthropic societies for student aid. Through these agencies there has developed an extensive system of scholarships, greater perhaps than among the universities of any other country. The Russian universities are greatly interfered with in their regular work by the continual disturbance over political affairs and the arbitrary exercise of absolute authority by the minister and officials in the Bureau of Education. During far the largest part of the year the regular instruction in each university is entirely suspended, if indeed the university is not closed for a period. Professors find themselves under constant surveillance and continual suspicion that their views are becoming antagonistic to the government. In the course of the last St. Petersburg strike the professors themselves decided to stop teaching, and over 340 of them throughout the country addressed a petition to the government saying that unless Russia secures political freedom no regular teaching is possible.

The attitude of the national church is of course always on the side of the government, but the clergy have little influence over the people. The few priests who break with the conservative ecclesiastics and go over to the support of the workingmen's movement have more influence than all the other clergy put together. They are very enthusias-

tically welcomed by the people who feel that it is important for them to have representatives of the church idea in their midst.

Although respected by all, Tolstoy has little or no influence in determining the sentiment of the people toward the political revolution. It is impossible for him to understand their practical position and point of view. He thinks in the abstract and does not bring his opinions to bear on the problem of collected action by the whole people. He lays the stress of his emphasis upon the individual will, declaring that any man may stop work if he so wills but that any attempt to get united action by the mass is not right. His position is due not so much to a lack of knowledge of the state of affairs throughout the country as to a point of view remote from the popular one.

There is practically no middle class in Russia except for a part of the town population made up of such persons as green grocers and the small shop keepers. They are exceedingly conservative, much more so than the wealthy manufacturers. The latter, in fact, are decidedly liberal, owing to their hatred of the continual governmental interference in their relations with the workingmen, which forces them either to make concessions or submit to discrimination in the enforcement of the law.

It is difficult to predict what will be the issue of the present state of affairs, but it is easy to see that as time goes on the possibility of a peaceful solution is steadily diminishing. Unless the government is forced into real reforms it must look for many more disasters and a larger spread of violent action.

William H. Baldwin, Jr. and the Progressive Democratic Spirit

By Charles Sprague Smith

Director of the People's Institute, New York City

My acquaintance with William H. Baldwin Jr. began some years ago when he took part in a conference on the trust problem which the People's Institute held, and which enlisted prominent representatives from the colleges, finance, the railroads and the labor world. I was much impressed by the directness, simplicity and sincerity of his speech, and felt that there was a man it would be well to have associated with any forward movement.

Later, I came into more intimate relations with him in the work of the Committee of Fifteen, and, too, when he accepted a position on the Board of Trustees of the People's Institute. The earlier impression was strengthened. I found Mr. Baldwin always a man of entire frankness of speech, of rare practical wisdom, derived from rich and varied experience with men and affairs; one whose sincerity was crystalline; whose mind was open to receive suggestions from all sources; whose purpose was direct, determined to assist all men to obtain justice; to promote, in so far as he could, wise progress.

It was not to be expected that Mr. Baldwin would take the radical view of things which many of us hold. His associations would rather forbid that—not in the sense of trammeling his judgment or limiting his freedom; but furnishing to his mental vision other points of view than those which are constantly presented to one engaged in social-betterment work. But the fact that a man of his virile energy and stalwart uprightness stood in the closest relations with the leaders in finance and in the corporate life of to-day, had their confidence, and still was what he was, stamped him to me always as one of the most valuable factors we had in public life for the intelligent solution of the social problem.

For as one who is not persuaded, and cannot be persuaded that our American social problems are to be solved by a class, or that the doctrine of inevitable class strife is applicable here in this land of opportunity, I saw in Baldwin a man whose business relations gave him the fullest insight into one part of the whole social life and whose sympathies interested him actively in the other half; a man with a will to do justice, with unswerving resolution to act always righteously, endowed with uncommon common sense, with a fresh energy of youth that had never met defeat, and with comradeship qualities of the rarest kind. Any man who met Baldwin, in any degree of intimacy loved him. Therefore, in the midst of the great problems that confront us to-day, with the impending struggle between privilege and the many—a struggle that for the best of our civilization and the world's advance in true liberty must be solved not by force, but by wise comparison of views and fair compromise, Baldwin represented a factor of vast potential value. No one who knew him knew where to find, in this respect, his like. Progressive Democracy has thus lost in him not one of its champions, in the narrower sense of the word, but one of its wisest mentors, one of the men who gave most promise—and largest early fulfilment of promise of being the mediators between unwise conservatism and equally unwise radicalism. I recall, as illustrating the absolute confidence placed in him by those who knew him, the endeavor of the Pennsylvania Railroad to secure entrance into the city, with perpetual franchise of a strip connecting its terminal station with the New Jersey and the Long Island shores. The reputation of the Pennsylvania Railroad in its

home state was not to the public mind so clean of all taint of unfair dealing as to avoid awakening some suspicion here. But when Baldwin gave assurance that rather would the company which he represented go without any franchise than contribute one cent to securing such concession by unworthy methods, we who knew him believed absolutely what he said. I cannot think of him, and I rejoice that I cannot think of him, save as I last saw him some weeks before his fatal illness declared itself. The ring of his voice, the clasp of his hand,

the glance of his eye, were those of a strong, true, straightforward man and friend. We bade each other good bye for the summer, each expecting to continue the work given him to do, and I rejoicing for him in that strength and success over which as yet no cloud had fallen. Such he remains and will remain to me—a man, strong, sincere, loyal to his ideals; one whose very existence and work are eternal proof that not through class strife but through the union of all good men, America's problem is to be solved.

Fall River: Its Industrial Battle and Intolerable Peace

By Gertrude Barnum

Secretary Women's Trade Union League

Another battle in the Industrial Revolution has just ended: the battle in Fall River,—one of the largest cotton manufacturing centres in the world.

A city of 114,000 population has been paralyzed for nearly a half year. Seventy thousand men, women and children, dependent upon the mill wage have been without income, and workers' savings, trade union funds, city, state and private charities have been drawn upon to the extent of at least \$100,000 a week, to keep together the souls and bodies of the mill operatives' families.

The significance of the battle has been its bearing upon the policy of Northern mills in their competition with the South.

In dedicating the great Lowell Textile School, a few years ago, Governor Bates declared that it seemed inevitable that Southern mills would take the lead in the manufacture of coarser grades of cotton cloth; and that the Northern mills must specialize on finer and more varied styles, which could not be turned out in the South. He stated his belief

that the very life of the Northern mills depended upon the use of the best business methods and modern machinery and upon the maintenance of a high standard of living for mill operatives, who now rank first in the world in efficiency.

So lately as September last, Mr. Herbert E. Walmsley, president of the New England Manufacturers' Association, in a speech at the New England Manufacturers' Convention, reiterated these important points. In regard to wages Mr. Walmsley said: "I do not hesitate to say in the most emphatic manner that, in my judgment, any such reduction or levelling down of wages is neither desirable nor necessary. Rather should we aim for higher standards, in the interests of the general well-being, advancement and prosperity of the entire community, regarded from any and every point of view. The real and true self-interest of the employer will not permit of any forced and continued attempt to reduce wages below a normal or legitimate standard." "Good wages are not incompatible with our

position in the world's market—such at least is my deliberate judgment of this delicate and vexed question.”

Wages and conditions in Fall River have been for years the criterion for the other Northern centers. Therefore the United Textile Workers believe they are fighting their battle, not only for the welfare of two-thirds of all the workers of New England, but also for the establishment of a policy which is the only hope for the industry in the North.

THE WAGE CUTS.

The direct occasion (though not the sole reason) for the strike of the 26,000 union and non-union operatives July 25th was the posting of notices announcing a reduction of 12½ per cent in wages in the 72 mills of 34 corporations. This amounted to a cut-down, admitted by manufacturers to be 32 per cent since November, 1903, and claimed by workers to amount, in some cases, to 44 per cent. The weavers had special grievances in the increased strain of work, where four or six and more extra looms had been forced upon them,—in some cases with no pretense of improved machinery to facilitate work.

The manufacturers claimed that economy, through reduction of wages and increase of output per individual, was made necessary by loss of markets, especially through the closing of Manchurian ports; by the uncertainty of prices of raw cotton; by the strain of increased competition, especially competition with Southern mills, where wages and materials are cheap; and by other causes. They cited the low dividends of the past two years in many mills, the necessary recapitalization of others, and the actual failure of one. They declared they were protecting the interests of stockholders, many of whom are widows and orphans entirely dependent upon dividends for their living.

The claim of the union leaders was that the burden of the depression in the industry has been unfairly and un-

necessarily laid upon the weakest.* Trade union funds, representing savings from hard-earned wages, have been drawn upon for years to support union members during “shut-down” of mills, and during illness, too often caused by hard conditions of work. Operatives, they said, have submitted to one direct or indirect cut-down after another since Nov., 1903, and only after the final reduction of 12½ per cent have they protested that they are bearing more than their share of the burden of depressed business conditions. They, in their turn, cited the immense fortunes made in Fall River in the past, the high dividends of very recent years, the substantial surplus funds still reserved in many mills, the large earnings which have been used to pay off heavy indebtedness, to introduce new machinery and improvements, to recapitalize several mills,—all without calling upon the stockholders. The union leaders lay part of the blame for present depression upon bad management, where the blood tie rather than efficiency controls offices. They declare moreover, that in only three mills are the Northrop looms in use, while many of the mills are ridiculously obsolete in equipment. Widows and orphans among operatives, they add, have no income of interest upon money invested, as among stockholders; but are reduced to a position where even by the hardest daily toil they cannot earn a living.

IS THIS AN “AMERICAN STANDARD OF LIVING”?

The life of working people is in their work. Conditions of work are conditions of life. Has the standard of living in Fall River been higher than the normal standard declared by Gov. Bates and Pres. Walmsley necessary to maintain the health and efficiency of New England workers? Let us see.

In Fall River almost the entire family goes into the mill when the wheels begin to roar at 6.30 in the morning. Many go in long before to correct and

*Fourteen thousand of the workers are women, and children under 16.

prepare work, and to clean machines. They have snatched a hasty breakfast and hurried in the gray morning through good or bad weather to their alley in the factory. Old men and women are sweepers or helpers; the wife works beside her husband in the intervals of child-birth; the sixteen year old girl strains every nerve at the looms; and it is the custom for every child to enter the mills on the stroke of fourteen years. (The younger children are often "boarded out" or left at home with those too decrepid to work.) Cotton flies about the mill in the steamy air, in some departments falling like heavy snow upon workers, and resulting in an unusual prevalence of consumption and throat trouble. The public shuttles are threaded with the lips and tongue and consumption is passed from one to another. Accidents from flying bobbins are common in the life of weavers. The noise of machinery is so great one cannot be heard even when shouting, and results of course in frequent cases of deafness of all degrees. The strain upon the eyes is serious and the strain upon nerves brings prostration, paralysis, etc. to an abnormal extent. The main meal of the day is a hot dinner, usually served in pails on the mill floor. In Winter evenings workers emerge suddenly from the steam-laden air into the cold and snow and walk the distance, long or short, to their homes. Supper is not much of a meal as the women are too spent to cook, and the rest are often too tired to eat. On Saturday afternoons and Sunday, are caught up all the chores, cleaning, washing, sewing and resting for the week.

SAVINGS AND SPENDINGS.

In their few free hours the families of operatives live sometimes in small separate wooden houses, more often in cottages shared by two families, and most often in tenements shared by four or more families. Where all the members of a family have worked, "stuck together, and saved" they often own their homes, with or without mortgages, (in many cases the parents have

worked from the age of eight or nine years). Most of the homes show a certain degree of comfort, and many contain large showy stoves and cheap pianos, besides necessary furniture. The bulk of the population, however, is denied the privacy of separate homes, and many hundreds of families are crowded into shocking tenements.

One sees the usual signs of the factory girl's "extravagance" in clothes; but the \$1.49 picture hat, 98 cent feather boa, and \$2.48 silk waist see many seasons of wear, and are often bought when such necessities as warm under-clothing and good shoes are sacrificed. What woman, we might ask, is entitled to good clothes if not the woman who works year in and year out, and pays for her finery out of her earnings?

The waste of money in drink is the chief charge of extravagance against the men. Is it not rather the consequence than the cause of conditions? The lack of the proper care and training for children, the strain of work after fourteen, the hopelessness for the future,—are to be considered in this connection. These workers have not been cultivated to enjoy Browning, Wagner, Donatello, and Rossetti. What wonder that we find them, like Tam o' Shanter, turning to the cup,—"o'er all the ills of life victorious."

The other chief "extravagance" is the 10-20-30 show at the cheap theatres, or the dance halls.

SIX MONTHS OF PROTEST AND PATIENCE.

When on July 25th notices were suddenly posted in the mills announcing the 12½ per cent cut-down in wages, the Textile Workers formally asked for a two weeks' delay in the enforcement of the order, hoping that a compromise might be reached, or at least that conferences might result in a better understanding between mill owners and operatives. The manufacturers (tho' by a bare majority, as has since leaked out) voted against this conciliatory policy.

Twenty-six thousand men, women and children agreed that they would not consent to the reduction of 12½ per cent

on their meagre wages. For six months they maintained a peaceful, rational, and dignified protest in the face of the loss of all their savings, the piling up of debt, the humiliation of public charity, the actual privation,—including cold and hunger. Public sympathy in Fall River has been with them. There have been no evictions and groceries and markets have patiently given credit.

The corporations controlling the mills are closely connected by business and by blood ties. The poorer, old-fashioned mills are protected by those better capitalized and equipped. All are said to carry the strike insurance which will be sacrificed in case of concessions regarding the 12½ per cent reduction.

Operatives from the first continued to offer compromise, conciliation and arbitration. But they determined not to capitulate, and they turned everything to account, to sustain life. During the seasons berrying and fishing parties were common, produce from gardens and farms proved a boon, and relief stations were set up in every ward by the Trade Unions for the benefit of non-union workers. As Winter set in, however, more and more among the non-unionists, driven by the needs of their children, drifted back to work.

HUNGER AND COLD AS "ARGUMENTS."

"Why should we arbitrate?" asked a manufacturer, "a little more of this Winter weather will settle the strike." But he was mistaken. The American Federation of Labor at the convention in California voted \$75,000 to the strikers. Throughout the country sympathy and support were stimulated, and after six months' struggle the union workers were still voting solidly to hold out, (tho' they tacitly consented to the return to work of the weakest and most sorely pressed non-unionists who went back by thousands.)

The Mayor and influential citizens tried in vain to break the deadlock. A republican senator proposed public hearings before the State Board of Conciliation and Arbitration. The mill owners still declined.

"I will say that the manufacturers

have learned lessons from the strike," said Mr. Richard Borden, counsel for the Manufacturers Association. "They have learned that it is policy not to be hasty in refusing to consult with operatives when alleged grievances arise." But despite these admissions, Mr. Borden declared that the manufacturers meant to "fight the strike to a finish."

Cold, hunger and public apathy fought with the Manufacturers' Association; and strikers grew more desperate. One weaver cut his throat, then idle "slasher-tenders" were found in their beds, partly asphyxiated with gas.

At last "out of respect for the Governor," the manufacturers graciously consented to his plan for a conference of Mill Owners and Operatives at the State House in Boston, though they gave fair warning that they meant no compromise.

AN INTOLERABLE "PEACE SETTLEMENT."

This conference resulted in the "Settlement," which has given so much satisfaction to the peace-loving public. The "Settlement" consisted in the surrender of the United Textile Workers, upon the assurance of the Governor that "after the resumption of work," he would investigate the matter of "margins" and submit his conclusions as to what average margin should pay a dividend of five per cent on wages from the present time to April 1st. It was agreed in this "Settlement," by both parties, that the margin so fixed by the Governor should "in no way prejudice future schedules." The manufacturers agreed to replace the striking workmen as far and as fast "as practicable," and it proved impracticable to replace hundreds of them.

By this "Settlement," two-thirds of all workers in Massachusetts and all other Mill Operatives of the North are assured that their most faithful, skillful work brings no security of a living wage.

Our democracy is falling down when 26,000 workers,—70,000 people make so righteous, strong, rational and peaceful a protest in vain, and when the public rejoices in Peace at any price.

The Manufacturing Problem at Fall River

By Edward A. Filene

Given a sufficient number of such victories as the manufacturers of Fall River have just won and the commercial supremacy of our country will be lost. This supremacy is built on efficient labor and up-to-date improved machinery and manufacturing processes, under the management of men determined to let no one surpass them in the originality and energy of their thinking. The Fall River Strike has left the wages of the operators too low to be a basis of efficient labor. They were too low before the cut-down, the opposition to which caused the strike. I asked one of the leading Fall River men, an ex-mill treasurer: "Will the manufacturers guarantee the weavers \$7.50 a week for a year, if this strike can be settled?" His answer was: "No, we are not sure that conditions will be such that we can pay \$7.50 steadily." "Will you guarantee steady work at even less wage?" I then asked. The answer was, "You are business man enough to know that under the present manufacturing conditions in Fall River, it is impossible to guarantee steady work." These answers sum up the conditions the manufacturers are struggling under in Fall River.

Let it not be supposed that these manufacturers lack good will or that they, as a body, think that an uncertain wage of \$7.50 is sufficient. They are hard pressed,—the commodity they produce will not sell at a profit. They must try to reduce the cost of production, for southern competition does not allow the selling price of the greatest part of their production to be advanced. But the method they have adopted to reduce this cost calls for the serious apprehension of all good business men and all good citizens.

WAGES WRONGLY MADE THE POINT OF
ATTACK.

The Fall River manufacturers have

decided that the only effective way of reducing cost of production is to reduce wages, but wages are only a part of the cost of production and any definite investigation of the other part soon shows such serious conditions that if wages were still further reduced to so low a scale that even the most callous employer would shrink from adopting it, still the cost of production could not be made low enough to compete with the market and sell the goods profitably.

The Fall River Mills are turning out in the main the same class of goods as the Southern mills are doing. Any disinterested investigator is soon forced to the conviction that they cannot turn out this class of goods in profitable competition, regardless of what wages are paid. The wages in the South are conservatively stated to be at least 10 per cent less than in Fall River, but in addition to this the hours of work are distinctly longer,—at least ten per cent more. The machinery in the South is the newest and latest type and much more productive than in Fall River. I know that some of the Fall River Mills are equipped with the latest machinery; they are comparatively few in number. Inasmuch as the Fall River manufacturers have a close compact to stand by one another and this compact includes all the mills, even those equipped with the poorest machinery, the comparison must be made as a whole on the strength or rather the weakness of the poorer machinery. Furthermore, the cost of living in the South is much less than in Fall River. In the Piedmont District the cost of a cottage (there are no tenements) is 50c per room per month. Supplies are usually sold by the Company stores at very low limited profit (I have never heard of more than 6 per cent). There are no coal bills. And there is little pressure on wages by the demand for luxuries, be-

cause the mills are mostly situated in the country where distractions are few and the operatives are of simple habits.

THE REAL MATTER WITH FALL RIVER.

The whole situation is summed up by what a cotton man told me, a broad-gauged business student of the situation, who travels much in the South, and whose statement was confirmed on another occasion by a man who has similar opportunity for expert testimony:

"What is the matter with Fall River? Why, the whole product of Fall River might be thrown into the sea, or Fall River wiped out as a manufacturing center, and the market would never miss them. Fall River is turning out the same goods as the South is under conditions which make competition with the South impossible now, and impossible in the future. If Fall River is to exist she must turn her attention to better goods; she must put more brain into her product; she must select men to manage her mills because they have shown in competition that they are the best men in the country to manage these great interests, and not select them because they or their relatives have stock enough to elect them."

From this brief summing up, the basis of my first paragraph becomes apparent. By the winning of the strike, the Fall River manufacturers are able to go on under conditions which, if they could be made permanently profitable, would result:

First, in the retaining of old machinery instead of throwing it into the scrap heap faster than any nation in the world. It has been well said that the measure of American commercial supremacy is the greatest size of its scrap heap of discarded machinery.

Second, in the policy of turning out the easiest made goods—coarse, cheap, unprofitable goods, that in the long run must be produced in surplus quantities, and leave neither proper profit nor wages.

Third, in a wage scale that would correspond more nearly with those of China and India than with those of

America, and which would inevitably carry with them an un-American standard of living.

Fourth, Such a wage scale would not, and could not, furnish profitable consumers for the other products of American labor. Were the Fall River remedy generally adopted, such a wage scale would react on other branches of production, and if the public did not interfere, would imperil not only our commercial but our social supremacy.

If, in Fall River, the good will of the manufacturers, and public opinion and the union had been strong enough to maintain the principle of the "living wage," the outlook for the manufacturers of Fall River would be more hopeful, to the business man, than it is now.

There is one bright side to the strike. No strike within my memory has been so free from obscuring complications. Through all the long months of the strike amidst a New England winter and its hardships, there was no violence. The issue stands out plainly. It is that of the "living wage." It is that the whole burden of competitive weakness shall not be thrown upon wages and wage earners because they are least able to resist, but that employers shall see the real causes, and meet them with characteristic American energy, determination, and good will.

If suddenly in the midst of the enjoyments of the palate and lightness of heart of a London dinner-party, the walls of the chamber were parted, and through their gap the nearest human beings who were famishing and in misery were borne into the midst of the company feasting and fancy free; if, pale from death, horrible in destitution, broken by despair, body by body they were laid upon the soft carpet, one beside the chair of every guest,—would only the crumbs of the dainties be cast to them; would only a passing glance, a passing thought, be vouchsafed them? Yet the actual facts, the real relation of each Dives and Lazarus, are not altered by the intervention of the house-wall between the table and the sick-bed,—by the few feet of ground (how few!) which are, indeed, all that separate the merriment from the misery.—John Ruskin.

Citizenship Training in Our Public Schools

Concrete Examples and a Symposium of Opinions

Collected and Arranged

By Henry W. Thurston

Who is now on leave of absence from the Chicago Normal School, where he has been Head of the Department of History and Civics, to serve as Chief Probation Officer of Chicago's Juvenile Court

THE GHETTO BOY AND THE LAMPLIGHTER.

A recent graduate of the Chicago Normal School sent this letter to a friend soon after her first permanent assignment to public school work:

I have been assigned to a first grade here in the Ghetto and I believe so firmly in helpfulness and co-operation that I at once took up civics with the children. My first lesson taught me, from their words, that the lamplighter was a "poor, dirty Jew to throw stones at" and as soon as he lit the lamps "to climb up and put them out." After discussing the subject for three days, I finally got a few to see the point of the lesson. This paper was the best one handed in so I send it.

"The lamplighter lightens the lamp,
He lightens them at night,
He has a big stick,
He is a good helper,
He is kind to us,
He is a poor man,

Abe Tishkowski."

The change of attitude toward the lamplighter that this teacher is bringing about in the mind of Abe Tishkowski and his playmates is one important phase of the public school training for citizenship. Such a change of mind often amounts to a civic conversion, a new birth into the world of reciprocal social service. Other examples of the same sort of civic training in the first grade are shown by the following "stories" told by children and written down by the teachers from their dictation:

THE POLICEMAN.

The policeman takes lost children to their homes.

The policeman helps people across crowded streets.

The policeman tells people the way.

The policeman helps people who are hurt.

THE POSTMAN.

The postman is a worker.

He brings letters to us.

He comes three times a day.

He comes every day but Sunday.

He comes when it rains.

He comes when it snows.

He comes when it is cold.

He comes when it is warm.

We can go to the door quickly when the postman comes.

We can say "Thank you," to the postman.

THE GARBAGE MAN.

(The Teacher's version of the children's ideas.)

The garbage man is coming along

With his horses and wagon so big and strong.

He gathers up rubbish every day,

To take to the dump yard far away.

Oh, a worker hard is the garbage man,

To keep us healthy he does what he can.

Let us pick up the rubbish from our yard and street,

And make all around us clean and neat.

Accounts of the work done by the engineer, the school-janitor and the school as a whole were similarly drawn from the children.

GOOD CITIZENSHIP IN PRACTICE AT HOME, WITH THE NEIGHBORS, AND IN CO- OPERATION WITH THE GARBAGE MAN AND THE MAYOR.

The influence of a teacher in the Thorp School of South Chicago in the

direction both of practice and theory is shown in these two fifth grade papers:

OUR GARBAGE.

I always put our ashes in the garbage box but one time it was getting hollow by our back porch and I began filling it up and some other neighbors went and made a hill of ashes there. They put them there in the night so we wouldn't see them.

Anyhow we can't keep our alley clean because we have nine families for one garbage box. Another thing when we ask them to put their garbage in their garbage box they say they won't. But I keep our yard clean.

A couple of days ago my sister and a friend of mine, Mary Durkin, and I cleaned up the vacant lot across the street and it looks far better than before.

Maggie L.

THE GARBAGE MAN.

The garbage man comes to our house about once a month and sometimes he has a cover on his wagon and sometimes he does not.

When he does put it on his wagon he takes a pitch fork and throws it into his wagon.

The people should be careful in electing their mayor because the mayor appoints a superintendent and the superintendent hires a garbage man and if we elect a good mayor the mayor will appoint a good Superintendent and the superintendent will hire a good garbage man.

Hellice Hawkins.

THE SPOILED GARDEN.

The same teacher encouraged the children to plant flowers seeds in their yards and to report their success in making them grow. The following report indicates industrial and social conditions unfavorable to good citizenship that the school teacher cannot successfully grapple with alone. Is there not some tendency to hold the teacher wholly responsible for failures that are due to our industrial and political atmosphere and systems? The school at its best is but one agent of society as a whole.

GARDEN REPORT. MAY 4, 1904.

I have no garden anymore because some one spold it. And there are cheickens and dogs runing in the yard and out. I do not want to hurt them because they are dumb and can't talk to any one so that's why I do not want to hurt them.

George Christianson.

SOLDIERS OF PEACE.

In the normal practice school of Chicago, a fifth grade teacher taught the

water system of the city in such a way as to bring out the ideal of brave social service by the keepers of the cribs and by other city employees. The following is a boy's expression of this view:

SOLDIERS OF THE CRIBS.

The soldiers are made of grit, courage and muscle. Though they do not fight men they are just as brave. They have their sentinels who are the light-house keepers.

They fight germs, ice, starvation, sleet, hale, and the mighty winds of the lake, so that we can get pure water.

Though they are rough, they are as tender to children and people that come to see them as they could be.

They have rooms in the crib in which they live. Possibly you have read how careful and neat the soldiers of the battlefield are. The crib crew are just as careful. You cannot find a speck of dirt in their rooms or around the crib. They have to know their business down to a turn. Would not this be a fine world if we had no more war and all the soldiers of war were turned into soldiers of peace.

The soldiers of peace include the sailors, captains, engineers, crib crews, policemen, conductors, motormen and firemen.

All these men are soldiers of peace. "Long live the soldiers of peace. Let their numbers never be diminished."

HOW THE SIXTH GRADE GIRL JUDGES THE MAYOR.

I live on 92nd Street and the main sewer pipes are on 92nd St. The drainage of our house goes into a sewer pipe in our yard and from there into a catch-basin in the yard. It then flows under the house into the main pipe into the lake.

There are a great many of those catch-basins and the sewerage passes through them and all the waste matter sinks to the bottom.

The city hires men to clean out all the public catch-basins, we can always tell when the one in our own yard is clogged up on account of bad odor of sewer gas which comes up the sink.

The people elect a Mayor and the Mayor appoints a Superintendant to look after all public sewers and he hires men to clean them out.

If the people elect a good Mayor he will elect a good Superintendant and the sewers will be kept in good condition.

Gertrude Casey.

HONEST TAXPAYING AS A TEST OF GOOD CITIZENSHIP.

This paper was written by a seventh grade girl in the Thorp school.

TAXATION.

All property owners are required by the

law to pay taxes according to the amount of property owned by them.

Very often the owners think that their taxes are larger than they really ought to be, but at the same time they are not thinking of all the things that they receive for the taxes which they pay. The taxes are to help support the governments, but the governments as a reward to the people give them rights and privileges, police, fire and health protection, the use of public schools, almshouses, and parks, paved streets and many other things.

Taxation is very just, because the people ought to help support the governments in return for all that they receive from the governments.

If for instance there were no almshouses, think of all the tramps there would be around the streets. And there also might be danger for the safety of the people.

Taxes which are not paid when due are called delinquent taxes. If they are not paid by a certain time the government takes the property and sells it, to get money to pay the taxes.

Inez Bergstrom.

AN EIGHT GRADER'S IDEAL OF CITIZENSHIP.

HOW I CAN IMPROVE SOUTH CHICAGO.

I can keep my yards and the alley clean and also keep the empty lots clean and have grass growing there and if it was near my home we could have plants growing there. I can have flower beds and window boxes. I can obey the laws and keep the street in front of my home clean as well as the home itself and help other people who are trying to keep clean and see that we have Parks out here when I get bigger and older. I then can see that the smoke is removed and all the whistles are stopped so people don't have to stop or waste their time for the noise like we now do in school.

I can pay my taxes and not throw paper and skins on the streets and sidewalks and if I see a person throwing things on the streets or doing anything he should not do I can talk to him and tell him not to do so. I can talk to children and people about

education and they might agree with me and also get a good education. I can treat the people about me kindly and they might do the same to me and get the habit so they will do the same to everyone else. If I have the right to vote as some women have I can vote for good men to carry on the government, and if I should happen to hold some office I will tend to my business and do it right. I can see that we have swimming and bathing pools and Public Libraries where people can go to and sit and read and educate themselves and big buildings where people can go to and look at different kinds of pictures and studies in art and science and geography and other things and some places for gymnastics.

Carrie Young.

CIVIC INSTRUCTION IN HIGH SCHOOLS.

The illustrations thus far given have all been from the elementary schools. In the Chicago high schools a course in United States History and Civics is given during the whole of the senior year. The communication which follows shows the kind of instruction that is given in many of these schools:

No pupil is allowed to graduate from the Evanston Township High School without a course in Civics. Lessons are regularly given on alternate days throughout the second year of the course. The study alternates with Drawing so that more than an ordinary time is available for study. Our course includes local government in all forms.

Pupils keep full note-books and scrap-books. They also bring illustrations of legal practice from newspapers. In charge of a teacher, they visit courts and become familiar with legal proceedings.

On presidential years, the school has had two regular elections, with all the forms required by law, registration, judges of election, challenge of voters, polling-booths, regular ballots (specimen) being used.

H. L. Boltwood,
Principal.

Symposium of Opinions on the Present Status and Effects of Civic Education in the Schools

I believe with Theodore Parker that the spirit of democracy is:—"Not I am as good as you; but you are as good as I." I believe this attitude is strikingly prevalent in our public schools. Social good-will is their atmosphere. On the whole, the disposition to respect mutual rights and to maintain the

group good-name is strong and effective—and out of this good citizenship must grow, if at all.

DEVELOPMENT OF CIVIC CONSCIOUSNESS.

Civic consciousness is fostered in the public schools by the attention given to civic

affairs—reporting and discussing general news, the principal movements and moot questions in city, state and nation. National holidays and birth-days of public-men are utilized. Direct instruction in government—national, state and municipal, is very often given in as thorough going and effective a way as in other studies.

The lack—and the lack as compared with what might be done is still large—is on the intellectual side. The prevailing spirit is fine. But the intellectual education is far too much dissociated from realities, far too much a matter of books. The restoration of the industrial element through manual-training (so called) would produce a wholly different intellectual type, possessed of more independent and accurate judgment, of prompter and stronger initiative, of saner appreciation of rights and of values, of more vigorous will, and of more unflinching courage.

Newell D. Gilbert,
Supt. Schools, De Kalb, Ill.

CITIZENSHIP AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Observation and experience as a teacher in the public schools since 1875, added to the experience of personal training previous to that, leads me to the conviction that in no respect have the schools made more or better advance than in the training of boys and girls for future citizenship.

Formerly we had some books on civil government; we had some pupils in the upper grades committing the constitution of the United States to memory, but of real turning of the thoughts and habits of the children toward the active duties of civic life around them there was little or none.

Recent programs in our state, district and local teachers' conventions bear evidence to the fact that this is to-day a live question and is receiving its full share of attention from the men and women who represent the advance movements in the school work.

Courses of study providing for rational lessons in civic activities, from the first grade through the High School,—a thing unthought of under the older dispensation,—are now quite common. This alone shows the emphasis that has come to be placed upon the importance of training the children to be a part, in thought and habit, of the life that is being lived around them.

THE OLD ORDER CHANGING.

The spy system of government, the force system of instruction, in many places have entirely disappeared and in all places are giving way to more rational notions based upon appeals to the reason and self interest of the pupils. By thus throwing the children upon their own self respect and common interest and making the appeal to the highest motives, rather than to the lowest, the way is opened for thousands of anal-

ogous illustrations taken from daily life in the city, state and national governments. Advantage is being taken of these opportunities all over the country and never before were the children of the schools in such close touch with the real life of the world. Never before were the teachers so thoroughly awake to the importance and the opportunities for bringing the great civic lessons into the school rooms.

To do this, scholarly text books are not needed; formal and complicated schemes worked out amid particular environments are not always desirable; special devices are apt to be a delusion and a snare when attempted on a large scale, robbed of the enthusiasm and personality of their devisers. The one thing needful is that the teachers everywhere be aroused to the importance of the subject and given a hint of the methods by which this civic atmosphere can be drawn into the schools.

W. H. Campbell,
Principal D. S. Wentworth School,
Chicago.

A good citizen is a man who takes an intelligent interest in the welfare of the community, state and nation, and is willing to subordinate his own individual convenience and advantage to that of the community, and to try to secure the general welfare. Such a man will earn an honest living, pay his just taxes, take an interest in the civic welfare, serve his country in arms if need arise.

Keeping this idea of a good citizen in mind, it seems to me that the public school helps to make a man a good citizen: (a) By making him able to judge intelligently the needs of his community and state, and (b) by making him willing to subordinate his own individual interest to the interests of the general community.

THE HEART OF GOOD CITIZENSHIP.

I suppose that right here is the "nub" as Lincoln used to say. Does the public school training make men willing to subordinate their own convenience and advantage to that of the community? It seems to me that no one can for any great length of time be required to conform his conduct to the necessities of the school without, in measure at least, forming the habit of doing what is for the good of all rather than what may happen to be pleasing to himself, and such action is the very heart of good citizenship.

Everybody who has given the matter any thought knows that the multitudes of young people passing from the schools into what we call active life make good citizens—the very citizens to whom such men as Roosevelt, Deneen, LaFollette, Folk, Johnson and men of that class appeal with success against the shifty time-serving politicians. It is by means of these very graduates of our public schools that the great reforms of the present

day have been secured and by means of whom still greater ones will be won.

This is not saying that the public school system is perfect or that it is doing all that might be done in training for citizenship, but that it is a powerful agency together with others in making good citizens it seems to me no one would deny.

J. O. Leslie,
Principal Ottawa Township High School.

PUBLIC SENTIMENT CONTROLS.

Training for citizenship consists not so much in the formal exercise of functions similar to those of the elector in the state, as in exercise in all that has to do with the relation of the embryo citizen to the individual and to the social groups of which he has chances to be a part. The school is not a self governing body nor do I think it can be successfully made such. Nevertheless, in every well-regulated school public sentiment is a strong factor in its government. In community life the same is true. In line with this phase of civic life the public schools are doing much to prepare for citizenship; citizenship of a high type. Personal responsibility, respect for the rights of others, a sense of duty to one's associates are fundamental elements in the character of the good citizen. I am confident that the public schools are doing much to develop these characteristics in the children.

William H. Hatch,
Superintendent Schools, Oak Park, Ill.

GOOD CITIZENSHIP NOT WHOLLY A MATTER OF VOTING.

The duties of good citizenship are not all summed up at the polls nor in serving the public in some official capacity. These are important and any device which the public schools might adopt to train better citizens in this respect should be welcomed, provided it does not cripple their efficiency in other directions.

But there are other qualities that belong to good citizenship whose strength and growth as found in the American people can be traced directly to the influence of the public school. The ability to support oneself and to earn an honest living is also the ability to render services to others. This is no small part of good citizenship. That the public schools have developed such ability is an indisputable fact. They have fostered the power of self control. Statistics prove beyond question that the public school is the best antidote for crime.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOL A NURSERY OF THE DEMOCRATIC SPIRIT.

The public school is also and always has been a great nursery of the democratic spirit. Here children of all classes meet together on a common plane and learn to respect each other for those best qualities that make

up character. A love of justice and a wholesome respect for law and order are fundamental virtues upon which the stability of government depends. For these virtues the public school has always stood. Nor has a training in the more direct duties of citizenship been altogether wanting. In the instruction in History, Political Economy, and Civics the pupil gets much practical knowledge which will help him to do his duty as an American citizen. Likewise in the various societies and athletic organizations of the school he gains much practical experience in the way of managing his fellow pupils.

HOLD FAST WHAT IS GOOD.

We must not underestimate the influences already working in the public school to the production of good citizens.

E. E. Will,
Instructor in Civics and Economics,
Hyde Park High School.

GOOD CITIZENSHIP TAUGHT IN MANY INDIRECT WAYS.

The very essence of school-life is moral—the proper development of the individual in his relation to other individuals or society. The social virtues, justice, consideration for the rights of others, co-operation, honor, helpfulness, promptness and courtesy are all school virtues inculcated directly and indirectly from the kindergarten up. The games, the hand work, the song, the exercise in gymnastics, the correct recitation of a poem, all depend upon adjustment and unity. The study of nature leads to a perception of the law and order and harmony of the natural world, to a realization of the truth of the maxim that a man will reap as he has sown. The study of history proves the same truth while dealing with the deeds of men.

Civics, too, should lead to a knowledge of the great power men have to help the world along but the instances of corrupt politics published almost daily serve to corrupt the youth by making them familiar with violations of public honor.

THE LETTER VS. THE SPIRIT OF GOOD CITIZENSHIP.

It has not been proved that the establishing of a "city" in the school with election of officers and attendant political maneuvers has made honorable pupils. It is possible, however, by a discussion of the rights of an individual and his duties, of the use and abuse of governmental powers, by making practical lessons in all the civic virtues from conditions existing in school life, to arouse love of country, civic pride and personal honor to an extent that good citizenship will result from high ideals and self control, with faith in the ultimate realization of these ideals in our own city and country.

Florence Holbrook,
Prin. Forestville School, Chicago.

THE CO-OPERATION OF TEACHERS AND PUPILS
VS. THE SUPER-IMPOSING OF AN EXTERNAL FORM.

That the moral instruction in our schools is all that it might be nobody will contend and this because of the limitations of teachers. They work up to their possibilities, however, more nearly than any other class of people—not excluding preachers. To a very great degree the teachers secure from the children:

a. Fairness in their dealings with each other.

b. Honesty in their dealings with the teacher as to lessons and recitations.

c. Truthfulness in school relations whenever there is truthfulness in home relations—and oftentimes when there is not.

d. Cleanliness as to body and apparel.

e. Cheerful co-operation in the management of the school. The teacher and the children run the school in a great majority of instances.

f. By far the greater part of the respect for authority which children have comes from school training. In the majority of schools this respect is great and I believe abiding. I should add here that the most deplorable failure in good citizenship comes from a lack of respect for law on the part of "pretty good" people.

If these things do not make for morality then is the case will nigh hopeless.

To suppose that the needed "moral" instruction in our schools is to come from some plan superimposed from the outside is absurd. It will be worked out along with the other work of the school as part of the study and of the administrations by teachers and scholars or not at all.

Orville T. Bright,
Principal of Doolittle School, Chicago.

SUMMARY.

Good citizenship is so complex that it cannot be confined to the sphere of political activity alone. It shows itself in a social spirit, habit and intelligence in relation to the family, the school, the church, the club, in short—to every other group to which the individual belongs, as well as to political groups. It therefore follows that preparation for citizenship cannot be a matter of instruction or habit in political forms merely, neither can it be given in a short time. In addition to specific instruction in civic mat-

ters, such as have been suggested many times in the foregoing statements, the symposium has also suggested at least the following incidental ways by which our public schools are more and more efficiently training citizens for our democracy:

1. Through the life of the school as a cooperative community, including both teachers and pupils, in the school building and in its neighborhood.

2. Through those phases of nature study which illustrate co-operation and mutual aid among plants or animals.

3. Through geography study of the products of the earth and human labor in such a way that all workers may be seen by the child to be working for each, and each for all.

4. Through national songs and literature, art, etc., of our own and other lands so used as to increase self-respect and respect for other nationalities.

5. Through current events so discussed that community problems, honest and brave conduct of citizens and officials, and high social ideals of many kinds may be seen and felt in concrete human relations.

6. Through such personal cooperation by the teacher with other adult citizens in concrete efforts to better existing social conditions that they become inspiring examples to the children.

7. In the language of athletics, through all possible opportunities to help the child to realize that he is a member of many social "teams" and that he ought to learn how to "play a good team game" in each of them.

In short, preparation for citizenship means, in the words of Dr. W. N. Hailmann, teaching the child to become a member of the "social orchestra," developing in him the art of "social orchestration." This cannot be done by any mere device, or social form, but involves the long slow processes of social rebirth, growth and education.

Henry W. Thurston.

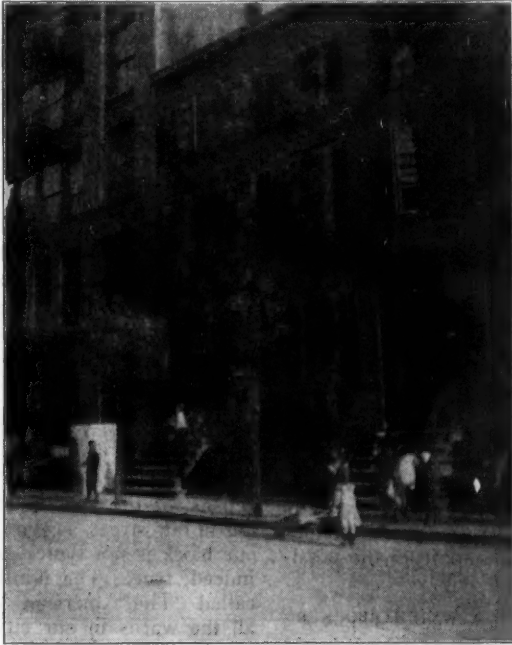
Greenwich House

By Mrs. Mary^{*} Kingsbury Simkhovitch,

Founder and Head Resident

Greenwich House was opened on Thanksgiving Day of 1902. The two succeeding Thanksgivings have been celebrated by the bringing together as far as possible of all those who have been in residence, as well as by a gen-

ment there is a middle room absolutely dark by day but having a big old-fashioned fireplace in it. This is the comfortable den where the settlement household gathers after dinner for coffee and where those who are not rush-



Greenwich House, 26 Jones Street, New York City

eral neighborhood gathering. These festivals have served to indicate the cordial fellowship in which the settlement's life has been grounded and is continuing to flower. A single unpretentious dwelling tucked away in a corner of old Greenwich Village houses the family of the headresident and the women residents. It is here too that the clubs, classes and social gatherings meet. An extension makes the house roomier than its street front would indicate, the dining room being especially large, pleasant and sunny. In the base-

ing away to committees or clubs may sit down and gossip a while. Another attractive spot is a little rear tenement in an adjacent lot which one reaches through the Greenwich House yard. This little building is rented by one of the residents who uses it as a studio and generously allows the rest of the household to come and sit by the open fire. This little hidden building is typical of the charm of this old quarter, speaking of the past that is giving place to a new and different life.

Two doors up the street is number

20, another little old house which is rented by one of the men of Greenwich House, who with other men residents occupies the upper floors, and who rents out the parlor floor and basement to the Sappokanicans, an independent men's club. The club in turn rents to Greenwich House the front basement for a carpentry and modelling shop. A room on Cornelia Street is rented by the day or evening for classes for colored people, and occasionally other classes are carried on in tenement house rooms generously placed at our disposal for the purpose. Thus it can be seen that as a "plant" Greenwich House is indeed very limited. Nor do the ambitions of the House extend very far in this direction. The next house is distinctly needed even to carry on the present work and every effort will be made to purchase that house and the one at present occupied. This will free the House from anxiety and uncertainty and will assure its future. At present the House is in the absurd position of having a waiting list for residents, a large body of volunteer non-resident workers, of enjoying public confidence in all the work that it does, and yet being in a position where the next house may be sold at any time for tenement building purposes, thus shutting off forever the present house from light and air and from the possibility of expansion.

THE INVASION OF A KNICKERBOCKER NEIGHBORHOOD.

The district in which Greenwich House is situated is better known to old New Yorkers than it is to the observer of today. The Knickerbocker quality has by no means vanished. The little two and three story houses, the pretty doorways, the winding streets, all bear witness to the past. And in many of these houses there still live people who their lives long have been dwellers in the Village. But they are a vanishing quantity. Building operations have been extensive. At first it looked as if the old houses were to be replaced by business buildings, and this is to some extent the case. The children of the old

residents are moving away. But a new stream is coming in to take their place. The Italian is coming up from Thompson and Sullivan Streets and even directly from Ellis Island, displacing the old inhabitants. These newcomers are living in the type of building now prevailing, the tenement over the store. This combination of business and residence is popular and well suited to local needs. And with the coming of the Hudson River tunnel we may expect this type to be even more prevalent.

As an example of the shifting of population, the little block on which Greenwich House is situated, bounded by Jones, Fourth, Cornelia and Bleecker Streets may be mentioned. According to the census of 1900 this block had a population of over 1,154, an acreage of 1.78 and a density of 647 to the acre. This density is not only the greatest in the Ninth Ward, but also shows a congestion more serious than that indicated in the density of most of the blocks on which East Side Settlements are situated. This was the case in 1900. Since that time the racial character of our block has changed radically. Whereas few Italian families are indicated in the Tenement House Department's report based on the 1900 census, of the 296 families now residing in our street, 115 are Italians. That our block is not typical of the ward is, indeed, true. The Ninth still may be called "The American Ward," for of all the wards in our city we have the largest proportion of native born to foreign born. The upper section of our ward is likely to retain this American character long after the southern part has added another foreign quarter to our cosmopolitan city. There are living in Jones Street today representatives of eight different nationalities, but the American (Irish or English American) and the Italian are the most numerous. On Bleecker Street and elsewhere the business houses are largely of Jewish proprietorship, and many French people are still in the quarter; but the population is for the most part composed of American workingmen of Irish or English descent, while the new

element is the Italian with his different standard of life.

In one sense, then, the old village is a new quarter with the problems which confront the dweller among the immigrant population all through New York. On the other hand, the neighborhood's deeper problems relate to it as the American working quarter where the normal life of working people is lived out.

THE PROBLEM OF THE SECOND GENERATION.

Broadly speaking, the problems of

es have done their duty quietly but for the most part have confined themselves to spiritual work. The political life of the district has been typical in its job-dispensing activity, for which it has had unusual facilities. But politics have conferred benefits upon the individual rather than upon the life of the neighborhood as a whole. Labor, too, has been indifferent in a social way in this part of town. We often find men who are members of trade organizations, but the lower West Side is no center of unionism in any active sense. A large proportion of its workers are dis-



Sand Box and Kindergarten Children in Greenwich House Back Yard.

Greenwich House are not those of an immigrant population, but rather are related to the rise of the second generation of foreigners who now form an integral part of our industrial and civic life. In this way the situation is quite different from that of settlements situated in the heart of immigrant quarters, and for this very reason there are certain democratic possibilities not so attainable where there is as yet no assimilation to American life.

The working population of the lower West Side has never had very ardent spokesmen of its interests. The church-

tributed in occupations which are unorganized, and even where organization does exist it has no hold as a principle to be fought for. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that unionism is taken for granted rather than as a propagandist platform. We have, then, a community individualistic in tone, where the great social forces of church life, politics and trade unionism have all been working with individuals, but where no local consciousness of social and neighborhood needs has been developed. If one should ask what is the work that Greenwich House has set

before itself to accomplish, this might well be the answer, difficult as it is of attainment and feebly as we may be able to work toward that end: Out of a community unconscious of social and organic needs, to develop a conscious, effective group of human beings.

LOCAL PRIDE.

There is a fine feeling on which this work might well be based, for though organically not conscious of need there is a local pride in the "old Ninth Ward" justified by its traditions, which is admirable and which is the natural sentiment from which much can be hoped.

To work out the methods by which a neighborhood may become a consciously effective group is the difficult task of the settlement everywhere. As a matter of fact, however, what settlements actually do seems often but remotely related to this task. In practice every neighborhood house has to do a good many things which its advantageous position allows and almost compels it to effect. The relations of the settlement to charity and to education are to be noted as points in question.

SUPPLYING NEEDS NOT OTHERWISE MET.

A neighborhood house finds itself of necessity from the very fact of its common interests with other residents of the neighborhood engaged in more or less charitable work. In the same way it finds itself of necessity engaged in educational work. Just as charitable assistance is not the real object of the settlement, so, also, education is by no means its object. Yet where there is a local need of any sort and where it cannot be met otherwise, there is a sort of moral obligation upon the settlement to supply that need. This is the perfectly proper excuse for which no apologies are necessary for the existence at Greenwich House of a small circulating library, of a kindergarten, of cooking and sewing and other industrial and manual classes, and of English lessons to foreigners.

But just as there is a plan fol-

lowed out in the charitable side of the work, so also there is a method which is followed in this educational side of the settlement's life. The kindergarten is for children who are younger than the age prescribed for admittance to the public school kindergarten. There is no other circulating library in our immediate neighborhood, and the classes in English are for those who would not for various social and age reasons attend the night school. Industrial work is not yet provided in our local schools. In addition to this fact, the small classes at our house, combined with the peculiar relation of attachment that grows up between pupil and teacher from the very reason that the latter is known in the family, and is a friend in other ways, as well as a teacher of a given occupation, creates an atmosphere which may well lead and which, in fact, does lead to the accomplishing of the settlement's purpose in building up an effective group-consciousness which is at the bottom of social ethics. If this sort of training is possible in classes of an educational sort, it is doubly so in the development of club life. Whereas the settlement does try to give a good time in a perfectly simple way to women who are tired out by the day's work, and to children who need a change from school and home work, yet the central thought in developing the clubs which cluster around the settlement is the development of sympathetic groups working for the development of the highest power of each, and having a belief and pride in each member of the group.

FELLOWSHIPS FOR SOCIAL INVESTIGATION.

It is in connection with the district improvement side of the work of Greenwich House that the efforts of the Committee on Social Investigation are identified. During the past year a little attempt was made at knowing something of the colored neighbors of the house through the medium of a few clubs and classes held on Cornelia Street in a colored tenement house.

This opened up the question of the best mode of social work among the colored people of New York City as a whole, and this year the Committee on Social Investigation has established a Fellowship for the purpose of obtaining a report on what would best be done in the city at large. Miss Mary Ovington, formerly Headworker of the Greenpoint Settlement, holds this Fellowship. Her work will be confined to the economic side of the Negro City Problem, chiefly in regard to housing conditions and opportunities for employment. In the meantime the local needs among colored people remain unaltered. With the removal uptown of the Roman Catholic, Baptist and Methodist churches there has been taken away from the community the centers around which gathers the social and ethical life of the colored people. There will remain for years to come a local group of colored people for which there is no adequate provision.

Last year's Fellowship on the Standard of Living on the Lower West Side has been continued, and the publication of this report may be looked for next September. A third Fellow is studying the sanitary conditions of the Ninth Ward which next to the Twenty-first has the highest death rate in New York. The death rate of the Ninth Ward in 1890 was 27.18. In eleven years we had an increased death rate of 5.52 per cent., while that of the whole city decreased 30.85 per cent. In the same time, the mortality rate from consumption alone increased in this ward 3.89 per cent.—a marked contrast to the densely populated Tenth Ward, whose death rate from consumption decreased 34.40 per cent. This is partly, no doubt, attributable to the fact that we have a large Irish-American population especially subject to tuberculosis, and a small quarter of colored people, notoriously the easy prey to this disease. But we also believe that it is very largely due to the unsanitary condition of the houses in the district, which have been until recently old dwellings used as tenements. The

largest real estate owners in the neighborhood have not seen fit to put in modern sanitary accommodations, and the condition of the cellars, yards, and general plumbing, notwithstanding the efforts of the tenement house department, is too often quite beyond description.

"THE TENANTS' MANUAL."

A publication of Greenwich House that has interested many is the Tenants' Manual, "A handbook of information for dwellers in Tenement and Apartment houses and for settlement and other workers," which explains in simple language what the law is in regard to eviction, desertion and non-support, instalment sales, child labor, etc., informs the reader in regard to the regulations of the board of health and of the tenement house department, gives directions in regard to the care of children and the prevention of the spread of disease, tells where the museums and other educational institutions may be found, directs the reader to the places of amusement and recreation that are open to all, etc.*

THE HOUSEHOLD.

When one considers the enlarged work of the Committee on Social Investigations and the large household at Greenwich House, numbering generally fourteen persons, more than half of whom are giving their entire time to the settlement, and all of whom are giving considerable time and energy; and when one considers the variety of the enterprises, the kindergarten, manual training, sewing, cooking, fresh-air work, neighborhood visiting with its consequent help described above, entertainments and concerts, clubs at the house, the energy expended in co-operation with other societies as well as that elicited for local improvements, the supporters of the settlement will justly feel that the expenditure of this past year of \$6,400 has been most modest.

*Price of manual 15 cents.

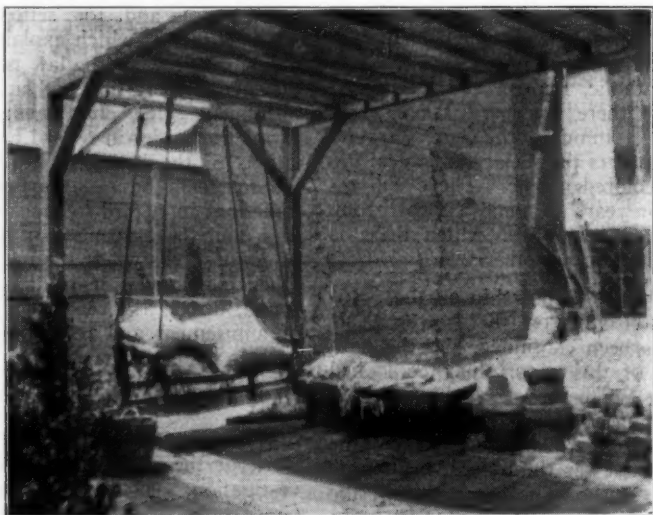
AFFILIATED GROUPS.

It is not to be forgotten that No. 20 Jones Street, which is in intimate affiliation with the settlement, is entirely independent and self-supporting.

In other words, the expenses of the men of the household are met entirely by themselves, neither rent, service nor table being provided by the Society, and in the case of the women residents* of 26 Jones Street, who give all their time to the settlement, the rent is paid by

GREENWICH HOUSE CONFERENCES.

The Conferences held at Greenwich House are a source of pleasure and inspiration to the household. Once a week at midday the family gathers to go over the needs of individual families on the same general plan adopted by associated charities, except that in this case the reference of a family or person to the conference group does not by any means necessarily mean that the need to be met has poverty as its origin.



"The Farm" in the rear of 28 Jones Street, rented by one of the residents and transformed into an attractive place.

them and does not appear upon the Society's record.

Gradually about the House have grown up little groups of people who are living in the neighborhood while engaging in social work elsewhere. These people find a natural center in Greenwich House. The common consideration of local problems, the common feeling in regard to their solution, and the common desire to work together for the building up of all that is best in the neighborhood is, perhaps, though incidental, one of the best uses to which the House is being put.

Such questions as how to get a boy back to school, how to induce parents to allow their daughter to go to the Trade School, how to arrange some opportunity for pleasure for a lonely old French lady with few friends, are quite as common as how to meet sickness and unemployment and destitution.

On Sunday evenings the House is at home to friends at supertime and there are always guests to contribute some new point of view, some desired information, or some form of inspiration, to the household.

On the first Saturday evening of the

month there is a Conference for all the workers at Greenwich House where some of the larger aspects of the settlement's life in its relation to its neighborhood are discussed. The method employed is to have as guest of the evening someone who is an expert on his theme and who will allow himself to be subjected to questions for the whole evening. So for example, Dr. Haaren, our District Superintendent, came to tell us all about the administration side of our educational system. Mr. Samuel B. Donnelly at the next meeting spoke of Trades Unionism in New York, and at the last meeting Mr. Algernon See, editor of the Worker, and Mr. Morris Hilquit, were the guests of the evening when Socialism in New York City was under discussion. These conferences are informal, but the system of question and answer

has proved vastly more useful than any set talk.

The House is especially interested this winter in developing its work among the French of the neighborhood, an industrious, self-contained body of citizens whose opportunity for social life and development has been limited in this community. To stimulate this interest a French play called *L'Hulan* by Mme. Tolla Dorean is to be given by the French neighbors of Greenwich House under the direction of Mlle. Marie Girault at the Berkeley Lyceum on March 30th, 31st and April 1st. The play has an anti-war theme, is a beautiful drama which was successfully produced last year at the Bourse du Travail in Paris and which has not been seen in this country. There will be four performances, the last being at a moderate price to allow French working people of limited means to attend.

The Friends of Russian Freedom

By Alice Stone Blackwell

The society of American Friends of Russian Freedom was organized in Boston at the instance of Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, in 1891, when Stepniak's visit to this country had aroused an especial interest in the subject. Its object was defined as "to aid by all moral and legal means the Russian patriots in their efforts to obtain for their country political freedom and self-government." The call for the organization of the society was signed by Col. T. W. Higginson, Julia Ward Howe, John G. Whittier, James Russell Lowell, George Kennan, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Henry I. Bowditch, Alice Freeman Palmer, Charles G. Ames, Edward L. Pierce, Phillips Brooks, Frank B. Sanborn, Annie Fields, Albert G. Brown, Edward Everett Hale, Minot J. Savage, R. Heber Newton, C. H. Eaton, Raymond S. Perrin, Mary Putnam Jacobi, Titus Munson Coan, Marguerite Merington, E. Winchester Don-

ald, Lyman Abbott, Hamilton W. Mabie, E. Benjamin Andrews, Lillie B. C. Wyman, Samuel L. Clemens, Joseph H. Twichell, F. D. Huntington, Wm. C. Gannett, John W. Chadwick, W. H. Furness, W. N. McVickar and Joseph T. Duryea.

"FREE RUSSIA."

The society tried in various ways to arouse public interest in the question. It published for several years an American edition of the monthly "Free Russia," the organ of the English society of Friends of Russian Freedom. The editorial work of the American edition was done by Edmund Noble and L. Goldenberg, and the funds were supplied by Oscar Straus, Jacob Schiff, and a few other rich Hebrews in New York. Francis J. Garrison, the treasurer of the F. R. F. collected and sent to Count Tolstoi \$2,000 to relieve the sufferers during the Russian famine; and the society fought valiantly, though

unsuccessfully, against the ratification in 1893 of our present very bad extradition treaty with Russia.

But practically all the association's work fell upon the overburdened shoulders of Francis J. Garrison, Edmund Noble and L. Goldenberg. The load was too heavy for them to carry without more help; and after three or four years the society ceased to exist. Some of its members, however, never lost their interest.

RENEWED INTEREST AND PUBLICITY.

In the summer of 1903, one of the former members of the F. R. F., while reading Tolstoi's "Resurrection," was stirred to indignation by the conditions there described, and was impressed anew with the conviction that those Americans who believed in freedom and justice ought to do something to help the brave men and women who were struggling to establish free institutions in Russia. The question was how help could be given. A passage in "Resurrection" suggested a way. It described a prison official as wishing to practise some piece of tyranny upon the prisoners, but as refraining because it occurred to him that the fact might get into the foreign newspapers. It is a maxim in war, "Always do the thing to which your adversary particularly objects." If the Russian government objected to having its misdeeds published in the foreign papers, it might be a good thing to make them known through the press as widely as possible. But news items and articles sent out anonymously would not be accepted by editors. It was necessary to have a society to stand behind them.

Correspondence was entered into with George Kennan and others, and the society of "Friends of Russian Freedom" was reorganized, with the following officers: President, Hon. William Dudley Foulke; vice-presidents, George Kennan, Julia Ward Howe, William Lloyd Garrison, Prof. Wm. G. Ward; secretary, Meyer Bloomfield, Civic Service House, 112 Salem St., Boston; treasurer, Rabbi Charles Fleicher, 40 Concord Ave., Cambridge, Mass.

Its object as defined in the constitution is "to spread in the American press correct news and information as to the evil results of Russian autocracy, and to help the reformers in Russia in their efforts to bring about more modern and civilized conditions." The constitution was purposely made wide enough to admit to membership all those who wish for the abolition of the present despotic régime in Russia, no matter how widely they may differ in their views as to what ought to be substituted for it.

MEETINGS FOR AGITATION AND MATERIAL ASSISTANCE.

The society at first worked simply as a news bureau, sending out news and articles through the press. The breaking out of the Russo-Japanese war greatly intensified public interest in the Russian question, and made it easier to get these articles published. On Oct. 13, 1904, an enthusiastic meeting of 3000 persons was held by the F. R. F. in Cooper Union, New York, Mr. Foulke presiding, and strong resolutions of protest against Russian autocracy were passed. Among the speakers were four officers of the English society of F. R. F., who had come to America as delegates to the International Peace Congress.

A great impetus has been given to the F. R. F. by the visit to this country of Mrs. Katherine Breshkovsky, the returned Siberian exile. Her heroic and attractive personality and her romantic history have made a deep impression even on persons who took no interest in the question of Russian freedom in the abstract. Largely owing to her presence here, branches of the F. R. F. have been started in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and Washington, D. C. Probably others will have been organized before this article appears in print. The Chicago F. R. F. held in the Auditorium a meeting attended by 3000 persons, Jane Addams presiding, and a collection of about \$500 was taken up for Mrs. Breshkovsky's work in Russia. Dr. Emil G. Hirsch, Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones and Thomas J. Morgan were among the speakers. In Boston,

the F. R. F. had an enormous meeting to welcome her in Fanueil Hall, with Mr. Foulke presiding, and Mrs. Julia Ward Howe and two Harvard professors among the speakers. It has arranged for a mass meeting to be addressed by her on Feb. 22 at Providence, R. I., with President Faunce of Brown University presiding. The New York F. R. F. has held two public meetings, and is especially active in collecting money for the Russian cause.

Its officers are: President, Rev. Minot J. Savage, D.D.; Vice-Presidents, George Kennan, Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell, Hamilton W. Mable, George McAneny, Mrs. George Haven Putman,

Everett P. Wheeler; secretary, Robert Erskine Ely, 23 West 44th Street; treasurer, A. Bullard, 135 East 15th Street; executive committee, Ernest H. Crosby, Isabel C. Barrows, W. Franklin Brush, A. Bullard, Robert Erskine Ely, John Martin, Lillian D. Wald.

Anyone wishing to keep informed on the movement for Russian Freedom should subscribe for "Free Russia", the organ of the English society of F. R. F., price 50 cents a year. The money may be sent to Dr. R. Spence Watson, Bensham Grove, Gateshead, England, or to Alice Stone Blackwell, 45 Boutwell Ave., Dorchester, Mass.

A Half Hour with a Revolutionist

Not many days ago I stepped into a nursery. Four little children from two to nine years old sat watching a large, handsome, plainly-dressed woman with short gray hair combed back and waving over a massive head. Her brilliant eyes were full of merriment as she told the story of a wonderful doll, dramatically illustrating its accomplishments even to its dancing. The little quartette had lost the sense of everything external except the charming story-teller and her fascinating tale. At its close she seated herself in a low chair in the center of the group, talking constantly most entertainingly while she cut and folded paper into bewitching shapes,—cocks, boats, baskets, dolls,—following in quick succession. In a few minutes shy little three-year-old was on her lap and the conquest of the children was complete.

The story-teller was Madame Catherine Breshkovsky, the Russian exile who has dedicated her life to the elevation of her people from patient slavery to the aspiration for freedom.

How has she come through her terrible experience with this child-heart fresh within her? Fourteen of her companions in prison and exile are dead; six live and with broken health; many more were made insane by hardships and loneliness. It was not her strong

physique alone that saved her; it was this child-heart companioned with a vivid imagination, a keen sense of humor, and a noble faith in the future. "How is it, dear Madame, that after all these cruel years you are without a touch of bitterness?"

"Ah, it is because I believe in evolution. I am sure they act according to their light as I act according to mine."

"You are sustained by a great hope?"

"By great *hopes*," she answered, while into her wonderful eyes there entered depths born of the world's ages of pain.

Madame Breshkovsky is an altogether delightful companion. She is unselfish, interested in others, fond of books, music, and pictures, so that she becomes at once a part of the home life. She is impressive in her simplicity, hopeful, buoyant, sometimes even gay, a very human woman, and a winner of admiration and of love from everyone who comes in contact with her rare, beautiful personality.

Sitting in the twilight by the fire with her shining eyes, her noble face, her melodious voice, she seems a splendid sibyl bringing to our modern materialism the simplicity, the poetry, the devotion of the mighty past with its primitive virtues and its prophetic inspiration.

L. A. C. W.

Women's Clubs and Public Charities

Illinois Federation Committee

Julia C. Lathrop, Editor

EDITOR'S NOTES: MRS. FRANK GATES ALLEN of Moline has recently been chosen chairman of the Public Charities Committee. She is a public-spirited woman deeply interested in the problems of dependency and with a wide acquaintance throughout the state, and is well fitted for the leadership of this Committee.

MRS. FRED P. BAGLEY last autumn addressed the Illinois State Conference of Women's Clubs on *Public Charities and Women's Clubs*. Both bodies were aroused to much enthusiasm by her and the result was the creation of the Federation Public Charities Committee, of which Mrs. Bagley was the Secretary and moving spirit. Her unexpected change of residence from Chicago to Philadelphia has deprived the committee of her actual help, though not we trust of her inspiration. Her personal charm, tact, graciousness, good sense and good temper, all in marked degree, make her an ideal person for the especially difficult task which confronts a volunteer citizens' committee of this sort. It is a certain compensation for our loss to know that Pennsylvania probably needs her quite as much as Illinois.

Suggestions for Visitors to County Poor Houses and Other Public Charitable Institutions

By Julia C. Lathrop

(Continued from the February number of *The Commons*)

Public Hospitals and Asylums for the Insane

In any system of state institutions in this country the care of the insane is the most important item because there are more inmates in the hospitals for the insane than in all the other state institutions, because insanity inflicts greater disabilities upon the sufferers than any other ailment, and because the proper cost of doing for the insane is necessarily very great. In visiting such institutions it will at once become apparent that the daily comfort and in large measure the hope of cure for an insane patient depend upon the attendants. At most the doctor can see the patient but a few minutes daily. A physician with from 200 to 600 patients under his care is able to give little personal attention to each one.

THE ATTENDANTS.

Upon the kindness, faithfulness and wisdom of the attendants, almost everything depends. In many institutions the attendants eat and sleep upon their wards, they are on active duty for 16 hours daily and are always subject to call. How can they be expected to

preserve a calm self-poise, gentle manners and unruffled nerves? Learn under what conditions their work is done in each institution. What is the proportion of attendants to patients for the whole institutions? For the violent wards? For the hospital wards? Are there trained nurses on the hospital wards? Are there any women nurses on the men's wards?

(Note. Women nurses for men insane patients are increasingly used in the best hospitals in Europe and America. In the Cook County Insane Asylum all the attendants are under a woman superintendent of nurses.)

IS THERE A SEPARATE NURSES' HOME?

How many hours on duty and how much time off the ward are attendants allowed each day, week and month? What provision for recreation—have they a comfortable, common sitting-room where they can see each other and receive friends? If there is not a separate nurses' home, where do the attendants eat—how are their meals served,—especially how is the night staff fed,—are the night nurses obliged to sleep in rooms on the wards?

What wages are paid? What quali-

fications are demanded? What training is given?

No better service can be performed for the inmates of the institutions than to draw attention to the need of better trained, better paid attendants with shorter hours of duty and more liberal provision for rest and recreation.

The following inquiries as to the care of the insane are taken largely from Dr. Billings & Hurds' admirable *Manual* from which we have already quoted.

TREATMENT OF PATIENTS.

Do attendants treat the patients with courtesy? Do they address patients as Mr.,—Mrs.,—or Miss,—or are patients called by their given names? How are attendants selected and what training if any is given or required? Are they good-tempered and forbearing, and also firm and decided? What are their instructions and methods in dealing with a violent patient? Are they neat, tidy, respectful, kind, tactful, quiet, and gentlemanly or lady-like in bearing? Do they have the manner of nurses upon the sick, or of guards in a house of detention? Do they reply to the inquiries and requests of patients kindly and promptly?

WARD ADMINISTRATION.

Are direct steam radiators covered, so that patients cannot grasp them when heated? Are soiled clothes removed promptly from patients' rooms? Are patients who are wet and soiled promptly attended to? Are clean clothes in every instance put on? Are beds which have been soiled by urine at night washed, or are they simply dried? Are mattresses which are used by untidy patients protected by rubber sheets or mackintoshes, and are such as have become soiled promptly renovated? Is there a plentiful and easily accessible supply of toilet paper in the water-closets? Is there a night nurse or attendant constantly on duty in the wards occupied by suicidal, timid, untidy, or destructive patients? Are they in sufficient number to insure constant supervision of the

patients, so as to give them the greatest possible freedom consistent with the character of their disease? Are the patients ever left locked up in wards, or are they turned out into airing courts, without an attendant being present? Are the recent and acute cases, in which there are the greatest possibilities for cure, specially looked after by the physicians and attendants? Do the precautions taken to prevent self-destruction of certain patients unduly limit the freedom and comfort of those who have no suicidal tendencies?

THE FOOD.

Is it sufficient, well cooked, and of proper variety? Are all patients in the asylum fed substantially alike, or is a difference made in the diet of epileptics, of the maniacal, and of the melancholics? Are the meals properly served, the tables and trays neatly arranged, and the food carefully and economically used? Are the dining rooms appropriately and sufficiently furnished? In the dining rooms, are articles of table-furniture used or kept for show? Do patients use knives and forks, tumblers, crockery etc., at meal-time, or are they furnished with iron spoons, tin cups and metal plates? Do they have chairs at the table, or are they seated upon board benches which they must step upon to get seated? Are the arrangements of the dining-room home-like and comfortable, or do they suggest a poor-house, jail, or pauper institution? Inquire especially as to the quality of the soup, and the amount and variety of vegetables served, and as to whether efforts to reduce expenses are not carried too far in the matter of food. Taste the butter and other food. Is the food conveyed in old tins which impart a bad taste to otherwise wholesome, well cooked food?

THE CLOTHING OF PATIENTS.

Is it sufficiently warm and soft? Does it produce irritation in some patients? Is it adapted to the season? Are the patients' tastes and wishes consulted with regard to

their clothing? Is the clothing, especially the underclothing, sufficient in quantity to provide the necessary changes? Is the bedding properly aired before the bed is made? Are the clothing rooms and the linen rooms kept constantly in order and well ventilated? Is all the clothing properly and legibly marked? Are articles of woolen clothing and blankets regularly aired and protected from moths? Are articles of clothing in good repair, and provided with buttons? Are pains taken to prevent the clothing of patients of untidy habits from becoming soiled with food? Do patients wear their own clothing, or are they allowed to wear garments belonging to others?

OCCUPATIONS AND AMUSEMENTS.

Are they used as a mode of treatment? What desires do the patients express with regard to them? Is the supply of newspapers and books sufficient? Are cards, dominoes, draughtboards and men, and chessmen, and materials for other games well supplied? Is there a billiard table for the use of the patients? Are facilities for out-of-doors games provided? What is the character of the work done for the asylum by patients? How many are employed on each kind of work? How far are the patients allowed to choose their own occupations? Do the assignments to different kinds of work appear to be carefully and judiciously made with reference to the physical and mental condition of individuals? What objections, if any, are made by patients to the work upon which they are engaged? Is the supervision of the work satisfactory? Is tact and good judgment shown in getting patients to employ themselves? Do attendants make drudges of their patients and set them at difficult, disagreeable, or repulsive tasks? Are all the patients who are physically able to go out of doors taken out with regularity for exercise every day? Is there any effort to provide out-of-door work or amusement for *women* patients?

PRECAUTIONS AGAINST FIRE.

Is there a set of printed or written in-

structions as to what each employe is to do in case of fire? Are the attendants familiar with these instructions? Is the apparatus for use in case of fire in good working order? What precautions are taken against fire? Are safety-matches used? Are floors oiled with linseed oil? What disposition is made of oiled rags? Is a supply of water available in each ward, or are there firepails and extinguishers at hand? Is each ward provided with an easy means of escape?

RESTRAINT.

Are there any patients in restraint or seclusion? If so, are the attendants required to get orders from a physician before resorting to such restraint or seclusion? Is the authority procured before or after the restraint has been resorted to? What means of restraint are used in violent cases? Where are the straitjackets, muffs, etc., kept? Can the attendant procure them without seeing the physician? Is the attendant allowed to use his discretion as to their application?

BATHING.

Are the arrangements for bathing sufficient and satisfactory? Are shower or douche baths used? If so, by whose orders? Is a record kept of their use, and of their effects upon the pulse, temperature, and mental phenomena? Are they properly supervised by the physician? Are patients bathed regularly for purposes of cleanliness, and at what temperature? Is this temperature ascertained by means of a thermometer? Is the bath-tub emptied and cleansed after each patient? Is the patient's head ever put under water as a punishment? Is there an abundance of warm water, soap and towels?

CARE OF THE SICK.

Are the discharges of typhoid-fever patients carefully disinfected? Are there any provisions for cases of diphtheria, scarlet fever, measles or other contagious diseases? Is there any systematic effort to discover and separate the tuberculous patients? How is the sputum of

such patients treated and what is done with their clothing and bedding in fatal cases? Are the hands and faces of sick patients freshly bathed, the hair neatly brushed, the mouth washed out, the nails cleaned regularly? Is the food for the sick proper in quality and quantity? Are the supplies used carefully and economically, and are all delicacies for the sick put to a proper use?

NIGHT SERVICE.

Is there a night-watchman constantly on duty at night? Ascertain how his hours are regulated and what check exists upon his movements. Are the sick under constant night-nursing? Are epileptic patients kept under observation at night? Are untidy patients visited at regular intervals during the night, and are soiled body-clothing and bedding promptly removed and replaced by dry

garments and clean bedding? Are suicidal patients carefully watched to prevent accidents? Do arrangements exist for supplying food and stimulants to the feeble? Can a hot bath be procured at any hour of the night? Is there a regular night service?

CARE OF DYING.

Do nurses sit beside the dying? Are the dead neatly laid out, and are their bodies so disposed of as to be safe from injury or accident prior to removal or interment? In the case of an autopsy, are pains taken to hide all marks of the knife?

ADMISSIONS AND DISCHARGES.

Is the law of the State governing the admission and discharge of all classes of patients scrupulously complied with?

(To be concluded in The Commons for April)

At the Institute of Social Science and Arts, Chicago

Course in Public Charities

Outline of Lectures given during February, 1905

February 1.

PROFESSOR HENDERSON

Topic: The Work of the English Poor Law Commission of 1834.

Reasons for studying English poor relief: up to the Revolution English law was our law; we have retained essential elements of English poor law; defects and successes are both instructive.

The Poor Law Commission of 1834 is important because: it marks a critical time in English history; the report has had great influence on administration; it contains a statement by men of great ability.

I. Phases of English poor law before 1834.

i. Church and personal charity; with repressive measures directed against sturdy vagabonds. To 1601.

ii. The Law of Elizabeth and its working. 1601-1795. The organization of the parish under overseers. Compulsory contribution by poor tax. The helpless poor to be relieved. Legal measures to keep down wages and repress vagabondage. The work house

as a test and as a means of giving employment.

iii. Lax administration: relief as supplement to wages. 1795-1833.

II. Economic conditions in England. 1795-1833. Chief causes of distress: costly and destructive wars, neglect of public health, children worked to death, absence of factory inspection, trades unions suppressed; excessive hours of labor. In part, lax administration of poor law.

III. The Poor Law Commission. i. Character of its members. ii. Essential principles of the Report. Paupers, not to be favored above poor free laborers. iii. Administrative changes made by the Report.

The new law provided (i) that parishes might be united into unions, with a board of guardians composed of justices of the peace and elected members. Allowances to be made by these persons. (ii) As a rule, aid to be given in a workhouse; exceptionally in homes. Able-bodied persons not to receive relief. (iii) A central body, the poor law board, created to supervise the administration of the law. Some changes since.

IV. Effects of the new methods.

Pauperism (public) has declined since 1834.

But this has been due largely to general economic improvement, sanitary reforms, invention, trade, manufacture, education of the people, etc. But part of the improvement has been due to the changes in the methods of administering relief.

February 8.

PROFESSOR HENDERSON

Topic: Present Status of English Poor Relief. (Review last lecture on work of Commission of 1834.)

I. Poor relief is now regulated by law of 1894.

(1) *Central supervision and control*: the Local Government Board, issues orders, inspects and supervises, audits accounts, has power of dismissal acts through inspectors, experts.

(2) *Local administration*, Board of Guardians; members elected (formerly justices of peace were *ex officio* members); democratic tendency. All parochial electors eligible, men and women. (649 Unions in 1900). Guardians are unpaid, "honor office." They hold regular meetings, act through committees. Their organs are Overseers of Poor who levy taxes, makes lists of the indigent, give aid in emergency. Subordinate paid officers, (clerk, relieving officers, physicians, etc.) appointed by Board subject to central Board. Women share in administration since 1875. Tends to make administration humane, less mechanical.

(3) *Funds*. The Poor Law Union (not now parishes) is the taxing area. Government gives grants especially for insane (in 1896 £2,034,171 out of £10,215,974.)

(4) *Legal right to relief* belongs to all indigent persons; neglect punishable. The Union where distress occurs is first liable. Pauper may be removed to his place (parish) of settlement.

(5) Application for relief made to relieving officer of district. Emergency relief given. Final decision with Guardians.

(6) Outdoor relief is given in kind, in money, in employment, in medical attendance. *Able-bodied poor*. Effort to exclude them, if men. The essential conditions of receipt of relief by such: he must not be receiving wages; must work at task; urgent necessity, sickness, accident or burial may make exceptions to rule; one-half relief must be in kind; task work given reported to Government Board.

(7) The work house. Each Union must have one. It is supervised by committee

of Guardians, inspectors of central Board and by lady visitors. Seven wards for classification, (i) aged and infirm men, (ii) able-bodied men, (iii) boys, (iv) aged and infirm women, (vi) girls, (vii) children under 7. The officers are master, matron, chaplain, physician, porter. Tendency to specialization: removal of children, insane, sick, vagrants, —not completed.

(8) Care of vagrants: by outdoor relief in urgent necessity; by "casual ward" (connected with workhouse or separate, akin to municipal lodging house). Cleanliness and work required.

(9) *Medical relief*; tendency to separate infirmary from workhouse, especially in cities. In cities hospitals for contagious diseases. Trained nurses required and educated.

(10) Defectives. The blind, deaf, feeble minded and epileptic are *educated* in connection with school system; if *indigent* they are *aided* under the poor law by outdoor relief, workhouse ward, etc. Provisions for custodial care, colonies, etc., only beginning. The Insane (96,865 paupers, 1900): in workhouses, outdoor relief, boarded with friends, local asylums; all supervised by Lunacy Commissioners.

(11) Care of children: outdoor relief, wards of workhouse, elementary schools, district schools, certified private schools, "scattered homes," boarding out emigration, apprenticeship. Board may assume control of dependent or neglected child. Morally imperilled children treated in: Reformatory Schools, Industrial Schools, Truant Schools, Day Industrial Schools.

(12) Statistics: per cent of paupers in 1849, 6.27; in 1900 only 2.50. Cost per head has increased from better care and higher prices.

(13) Criticisms: (i) The workhouse test is not humane; many suffer rather than accept it. (ii) Inadequate investigation and individual treatment. (iii) Applicants before the Board or committee are humiliated.

II. *Private Charity*: all forms, even duplicating public relief at many points.

The Charity Organization Society and its policy.

Settlements, schemes of thrift, friendly societies and other preventive measures. No workingmen's insurance as in Germany. Many propositions already heard.

References.

Henderson. "Modern Methods of Charity," Chapter IV. by Charles A. Ellwood.

Fowle. The Poor Law.

Nicholls. History of the English Poor Law (Mackay's Edition.)

February 15.

MR. RAYMOND ROBINS

Topic: Public Care of Homeless Men.

- I. The casual labor class.
 1. The industrial city as a centre of distribution.
 2. The relation of this class to vagrancy, mendicancy and crime.
- II. Methods of immediate relief.
 1. The municipal lodging house.
 - a. Administration.
 - b. Employment.
 - c. Work tests.
 - d. Limitation of lodgings.
 - e. Cooperation:
 - with Charities.
 - with Corrections.
- III. Causes for the casual labor class.
 1. Industrial organization and methods.
 2. Immigration and emigration.
 3. Human waste.
 - a. Unsanitary homes.
 - b. Child labor spent men.
 - c. Industrial cripples.
 - d. Old age.
 - e. Ignorance.
 - f. Sickness.
 - g. Personal vices.
- IV. Methods of amelioration.
 1. Investigation.
 2. Publicity.
 3. Legislation.
- V. Permanent change;

Possible only through extension of the religious spirit into industrial and social relations.

February 22.

DR. ALICE HAMILTON

Topic: Public Care of Tubercular Patients.

- I. Prevalence of tuberculosis in the United States. Influence of race; of occupation; of density of population; of poverty. Map showing death rate from tuberculosis in different wards of Chicago and relation to acreage population.
- II. Public measures for prevention of spread of tuberculosis.
 - 1 Popular propaganda.
 - 2 Compulsory registration of cases. Objections to this. How these objections can be met. Cities and states in which law requires registration.
 - 3 Compulsory disinfection. Method followed in New York. Advantages of

renovation over simple disinfection. Cities which provide for disinfection.

- 4 Tenement house inspection. Tenement house laws. Regulation of sweat-shops. Laws governing ventilation of factories and workshops.
- III. Public measures for the care of the tuberculous poor.
 - 1 Sanatoria and hospitals for the care of advanced cases. Discussion of theory that advanced cases are the most appropriate subjects for hospital treatment. Advantages of urban hospitals for such cases.
 - 2 Hospitals and sanatoria for incipient cases. Discussion of different kinds of public sanatoria now in operation. Advantages of country sanatoria. Advantages of urban sanatoria.
 - 3 Dispensaries for tuberculous patients. German and French methods.
 - 4 Subsequent care of patients discharged from sanatoria.
- IV. Summary. What lines should public care for the tuberculous poor follow in the future?

The Chicago Society for Ethical Culture announces three lectures by Professor Charles Zueblin for the first three Sundays in March. "The New Civic Spirit" is the topic for March 5, "Culture and Morality," for March 12, and "The Common Life," for March 19. The meeting place is Steinway Hall and the hour 11 o'clock. Those who have noticed the vital character of the addresses before the Society each week will recognize in this announcement simply a continuation of the earnest discussion which for years has held aloft to the city of Chicago a standard of high ideal and life for the city and of a deeper devotion to the common good on the part of every individual. The leadership of Dr. William M. Salter in the work of this Society is inestimable in its worth to Chicago's best aspirations, a force for righteousness that the city could ill afford to do without.

The February number of *The Craftsman* contains an interesting sketch of "Golden Rule Jones, the late Mayor of Toledo" from the pen of Ernest Howard Crosby.

Notes and Articles of Social and Industrial Interest.

Democracy in Trade Union Management

A most curious conflict of opinions has lately been in evidence. For years we have had it dinned into our ears by employers of a certain type that the trouble with the unions is the ease with which they are controlled by leaders of a hare-brained sort who are always upon the look-out for trouble and who play the demagogue with the men in the rank and file. "Yes," say these employers, "we really believe that most of the men in the unions are of a good and well meaning sort, but why will they let unscrupulous officers lead them into all manner of difficulties? It is these walking delegates and professional agitators who run the unions, and we must get rid of them."

From an entirely different quarter comes the complaint that the officers are usually men of good judgment and conservative influence, but that the rank and file run away with them and vote injudicious strikes and radical action generally. "The thing to do," say these critics, "is to let the officers have full sway. There is too much democracy in the labor movement to admit of efficient and well balanced management and control."

A recently published editorial in the *Cigar Makers' Journal* deals so sanely with this question and in a spirit which seems to us so admirably American that we quote it in part:

There seems to be a growing sentiment in certain quarters that there is too much democracy in the labor movement, or, in other words, that there is too much power vested in the hands of the rank and file and not enough in the hands of the executive.

It is claimed that the rank and file make mistakes by rushing headlong into ill advised strikes and continue them after they are lost and that they do other things that an experienced and level headed executive would avoid if he had the power to do so. We wish to take exception to this idea. If a few new unions not well schooled in experience

of self government have made a few mistakes it is no indication that the whole trade union movement has fallen into decay or that the membership at large cannot be trusted with the management of its own destiny.

The experience of the Cigarmakers' International Union has clearly demonstrated that the rank and file can safely be trusted with the power to regulate and control their own affairs. While it is true that the membership sometimes goes into ill-advised strikes, this is a rare occurrence, and the experience gained in such affairs is often a blessing in disguise. There is no danger from democracy, and plenty of it, in the labor movement when combined with proper laws and a fearless, honest executive. An executive in all cases and in all unions should be free to act, and there will be no danger if he is and does if the union is provided with a law that will enable the rank and file to reverse the executive whenever his acts are not strictly honest and in keeping with the best interests of the union and the members thereof. Parry has said that the unions are incapable of self government, and some of our well-meaning friends are, parrot-like, repeating the charges, but, we feel, without due consideration of the facts in the case.

To hold that democracy in the unions is a mistake is equivalent to saying that our republican form of government is a failure and that civilization and civilized government conducted upon the so far tried most liberal and democratic form are failures. Let the unions retain the power of self government and give the executives plenty of freedom of action, always with a string on them in the shape of the veto power and the right of appeal, and there will be no danger to the trade union movement. What is needed is more power and freedom of action by both the executive and the membership at large, always, however, with an understanding and a law that will keep the power or final court in the hands of the membership. No executive will betray or abuse his power if the laws are such that he can be called to account by the membership at any and all times, and experience has demonstrated that under wise laws the membership at large can be trusted with and is capable of successful self government.

Boston's Civic Federation

Organized late in January on substantially the same lines as the National body, the Civic Federation of Boston and vicinity represents the foremost step in New England toward a spirit of

fair compromise and conciliation. Many labor difficulties bid fair to be settled before they reach the critical strike or lock-out stage. It is not intended to solve the whole labor problem, as Mr. Charles H. Taylor, Jr. of the *Boston Globe* and one of the officers of the newly organized Federation says, nor did any of its members believe that it could. The idea is to lessen through conference and fair discussion the probability of conflict.

From the *National Civic Federation Review* for February we take the following list showing the personnel of the officers and the executive committee: President, Lucius Tuttle, President Boston and Maine Railroad; First Vice President, Frank H. McCarthy, President Boston Central Labor Union; Second Vice President, Louis D. Brandeis, attorney-at-law; Treasurer, Charles H. Taylor, Jr., *Boston Globe*; Secretary, E. H. Walcott, Secretary Boston Merchants' Association; Recording Secretary, Henry Abrahams, President Cigarmakers' Union.

The following constitute the Executive Committee:

On the part of the Employers: Amory A. Lawrence, President Merchants' Association; Lucius Tuttle, President Boston and Maine Railroad; Frederick P. Fish, President American Bell Telephone Company; W. C. Winslow; Arthur T. Lyman; Charles H. Taylor, Jr.

On the part of the Public: Charles Francis Adams, publicist; Rt. Rev. William Lawrence, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Massachusetts; Major Henry L. Higgenson, of Lee, Higginson, and Company; Hon. Charles S. Hamlin; John Mason Little; Louis D. Brandeis.

On the part of the Wage Earners: Dennis D. Driscoll, Central Labor Union; Henry Abrahams, Cigarmakers' Union; Frank K. Foster, Typographical Union; Frank H. McCarthy, President Central Labor Union; James R. Crozier; John F. Tobin, General President Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.

Public Bath House in Cleveland

The free public bath house established by the city of Cleveland was recently dedicated with proper exercises. The reception of the house by the community was marked by a hearty, enthusiastic audience overcrowding the seating capacity provided.

Both gymnasium and bath are now ready for daily use although for some time the bathing facilities have been in operation. All the boys and girls wishing admission to the gymnasium must report to the superintendent. Adults will be admitted also if suf-

ficient numbers apply. The public baths are free and open regularly from 10 in the morning until 9 at night. One cent is charged for towels and one cent for soap. If applicant brings soap and towels there is no charge whatsoever.

The value to the community of this new bath house is appreciated by all citizens and it is hoped that such facilities will be planted in several different sections of the city.

Grand Rapids' "Civic News"

Civic News is the title of a weekly paper. There ought to be more like it, because there are too many cities in which a chief business of the daily press is to prevent people from knowing the public affairs of their own community. That is the situation in Grand Rapids, Michigan, where *Civic News* has recently been started.

Readers of the article in THE COMMONS for last November on the prosecution of the Grand Rapids water deal cases, will remember the description of how the three dailies of the town kept a conspiracy of silence because the editors or managers were more or less implicated in the affair. Through the public spirit of the Civic Club of Grand Rapids there was published from time to time *Live Issues in Kent County*, which uncovered without fear or favor the whole truth about what was going on.

Dr. Delos Wilcox, the author of the above mentioned article has all along been the energetic secretary of the Civic Club. Backed up by the other officers and the whole membership, he gave his attention to the publication of *Live Issues*. This appeared at seasons most disconcerting and embarrassing to certain members of the community, but at ones most opportune judged from the standpoint of the citizens making the fight for civic righteousness.

The futility of ever getting a square deal from the daily press became more and more apparent. So it was decided to publish every Saturday a paper to be known as *Civic News*. We are glad to welcome this among exchanges because of what it stands for in its locality not only, but because its idea is unique, as the editor declares in its first number. "There is nowhere, we believe, a newspaper devoted exclusively to the public affairs of a city and county. The journal that comes nearest to this idea is the *Citizens' Bulletin* of Cincinnati, but the *Bulletin* aims to reach out into other cities and get a constituency among the friends of better municipal government everywhere. It is the purpose of *Civic News* to be a newspaper for Grand Rapids and Kent County." That is just what is needed—a paper willing to take hard knocks and give them in the fight for better government in each locality, for it is in deal-

ing with a concrete situation that the hard fighting comes. Periodicals devoted to the general idea of better city government are doing a magnificent educational work, but they cannot deal directly the blows that jolt the individual grafter or put him out of business. Best of luck to Civic News and may its tribe increase.

Glasgow's Municipal Enterprises

Glasgow, Scotland, has perhaps the most widely known reputation of any English speaking city for success in municipal experiments and enterprises. And it is the lightest taxed. Moreover, no political pulls, no bribery, but clean administration prevails in every department of the city's business. The idea which has brought about these results is one that may be made applicable to every municipality in America. It is the simple business proposition that those things which the people must use in common they should also own in common.

Ever since Glasgow undertook the task of enlarging the Clyde river making it 390 feet wide and 35 feet deep, at a cost of \$50,000,000, it has continued to carry out large plans for the benefit of all the people. Those who have imagined that municipal ownership of tramways is its only successful achievement in extending city functions will read with interest this resume of what it has done:

It bought and pulled down 46 blocks of slums and built 1,519 comfortable homes for working people. A three-room flat rents for \$5 a month.

It owns and manages seven model lodging houses, charging seven, eight and nine cents for lodging.

It built a "family home" for widows who have small children. Last year 110 widows and 217 children were lodged there.

It bought out the private water company and reduced the water rate from 24 cents per thousand gallons to 8 cents.

It bought out the gas companies and reduced the price of gas to 52 cents per thousand feet. It spent \$12,000,000 and made a profit of \$2,000,000.

It has taken over the street car service, reduced the hours of the men, increased their pay, cut the fares in half and made a handsome annual profit.

It has established a public telephone system with a two-cent rate.

It has opened 19 children's play grounds and set aside 1,055 acres for public parks.

It has done all this and at the same time reduced the rate of taxation.

Great Britain to Own its Telephones

In view of the trouble which the workers are having with the telephone trust, special interest is lent to the announcement that the British postmaster general has come to an agreement with the National Telephone company to take over its business and buy its plant as from Dec. 31, 1911.

Lord Stanley is congratulated by the London press upon submission to parliament of what is considered a good bargain, by which both the taxpayer and the telephone user should do well. The price to be paid for the business is to be settled by arbitration. All that is to be paid is the fair market value of the plant and the works of the company.

NO PAYMENT FOR GOOD WILL.

The purchase is to be made on what are called "tramway terms;" that is, no payment is to be given for the good will or past or future profits. Exceptions are made in regard to the private wire business of the company, which can be carried on without the postmaster general's license, and in a few cases where the company's license has been extended beyond 1911 three-fourths of the whole purchase money may at the option of the government be paid by way of annuity for a term not exceeding twenty years.

The postmaster general also retains certain powers, enabling him to object to the purchase of any plant unsuitable for the carrying on of the business in order to insure the efficiency of the service. During the present owners' continuance in possession they are bound by agreement to allow intercommunication without additional charge between the systems of the postmaster general and the company, and are precluded from showing favor or preference as between subscribers, while the minimum and maximum rates they are to charge are fixed.

MUST PROVIDE GOOD SERVICE.

If on complaint and after full inquiry it is proved that the company is giving inefficient service in any district the postmaster general may take over the company's business in that district at once without any payment for good will.

It is impossible to estimate with any great degree of accuracy the price which the government will have to pay for the telephones. When, in April, 1896, the postoffice took over the trunk lines the cost was \$2,295,570, but the purchase of the whole business is a more serious matter, from the fact that the company has a share capital of nearly \$22,500,000, with debentures amounting to nearly \$20,000,000.—Despatch to the *Chicago Tribune*.

It would be difficult to find anybody
nowadays who is not reading

Everybody's Magazine

The articles by Thomas W. Lawson,
of Boston, "Frenzied Finance," have in-
creased the circulation of the magazine
from 250,000 copies monthly to over
900,000 in a few months.

Everybody's Magazine is sold on all
news-stands unless sold out.

College Settlement Association

Katherine Coman, Editor

Miss Myrta L. Jones, whose careful and untiring editorial direction has made the contents of the College Settlement Department during 1904 of such inestimable value not only to those interested especially in that Department but to all the readers of *THE COMMONS*, is spending some months in Europe. The Editor of *THE COMMONS* wishes here to express in a way entirely inadequate, his deep sense of gratitude for her unfailing devotion to this particular Department and her very effective helpfulness to all the interests of the magazine.

Miss Katharine Coman, Professor of History and Political Economy at Wellesley, who assumes the editorship of the College Settlement Department needs no introduction to readers of *THE COMMONS*. Under her supervision the Department is sure to maintain its high standard of interest.

A New Line of Research

The Work of Frances A. Kellor

By Elizabeth M. Rhodes

Secretary Inter-Municipal Committee on Household Research

When the fellow of the College Settlement Association, and the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, was appointed to take up the investigation of employment agencies in large cities the subject seemed to be interesting but not vital. The conditions brought to light however were of so startling a nature and so far-reaching in their effect upon the home life of the country, that several important remedial measures have resulted from a better knowledge of facts. In Boston the existence of a good employment agency law, and regular inspection made further measures unnecessary at present; but New York, Chicago and Philadelphia showed inadequate legislation, no real means of regulation, and a crying need of reform.

So much has been already told in "Out of Work," the report of this investigation, of fraudulent and vicious conditions in employment agencies and of their use as instruments for furthering immorality, that it is unnecessary to dwell here on the crowded waiting rooms that breed idleness and gossip, the frauds practiced upon employers in the matter of references, and in inducing girls to leave their places, and the tricks by which honest seekers after work are fleeced of their savings, or sent to disreputable employment against their volition. To remedy

these evils in part at least, New York State passed a bill, through the instrumentality of the Woman's Municipal League, regulating the keeping of employment agencies and providing for enforcement. The Clara de Hirsch Home sought to protect immigrant women by establishing a model agency at 712 East 6th Street, in the midst of a neighborhood frequented by immigrants from south eastern Europe, where organized evil has flourished, and where the notorious cadet system is practiced, often under the protection of employment agencies. The Sixth Street office has proved an inspiration to the honest employment agents of the neighborhood. They have banded together to raise the standards of the business and to prosecute violators of the law, and their success is attested by the evidence they have furnished to the Commissioner of Licenses, and the consequent closing of some of the most disreputable agencies.

A further result of the investigation of agencies was seen in the organizing of the Inter-Municipal Committee on Household Research. This body stands for scientific study of household employment as part of the labor problem; and for cooperation with all individuals and organizations that are aiming at improved industrial conditions for household workers. Its Chairman, Mrs. Mary Morton Kehew, represents the Woman's Educational and Industrial Union of Boston, and other organizations represented are the New York Association for Household Research, Miss Margaret D. Dreier; the Philadelphia Association for Household Re-



The Scale of Merit

expresses the
Opinion
of the
Operator
regarding

The
OLIVER
Typewriter

The Standard
Visible Writer

SOLD ON ITS VALUE

ART
CATALOG
FREE
UPON
REQUEST

The OLIVER Typewriter Co.

132 Wabash Avenue

Chicago U S A

Please mention THE COMMONS when writing to advertisers

search, Mrs. Rollin Norris; the Housekeepers Alliance of Philadelphia, Mrs. Wilbur F. Hamilton; the College Settlement Association, Mrs. Arthur H. Scribner; the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, Miss Lucy M. Salmon; the Jewish Council of Women, Miss Sadie American.

The fellow of the College Settlement Association and the Association for Collegiate Alumnae is general director of the committee and has charge of all investigations. The work is supported morally and financially by the local organizations in each city and research is conducted in all three cities at once. The subjects of research are twelve in number, and the following investigations are already in progress:—standards of efficiency among employment agencies, sources of supply for household workers,—including immigration, immigrant homes, and negro importation from southern towns,—lodging houses for household workers, domestic training, new experiments, and proposed solutions of the household problem. The cooperative work proceeds simultaneously with investigation. The local offices keep on file such information as lists of recommended employment agencies, training schools, and homes for working girls, which is furnished on application; and they supply lectures on household topics to clubs. In New York, the local society has four

investigators, co-operating with the Department of Licenses in furnishing evidence of violations of the employment agency law. As a result of their efforts the licenses of eight unworthy agencies have been revoked and six agents held for further trial. In Philadelphia the interest of the local association is focussed on the model employment agency bill, now before the legislature.

The organ of the Committee is a monthly Bulletin which gives a report of the progress of the work, and publishes articles by specialists, bearing on household work. Newspapers and magazine articles are furnished by the Committee on application, and it is probable that the committee will widen its field of co-operative work by undertaking a department in a well known woman's magazine which reaches the average housewife in large numbers.

At present the work is supported by individual appropriation for each piece of investigation, but a plan is in progress to establish fellowships for this research. Those to be granted for general work will be supported partly by the Committee, and partly by some individual or organization interested in the work of research. The fellowship for local work will be granted on a competitive basis to some graduate student from the local college, and will be supported jointly by that college and by the local organization represented on the Committee.

From Social Settlement Centers

A new edition of the "Bibliography of Settlements" is being prepared. Names and addresses of new settlements, new material of old, and suggestions for the improvement of the next edition over the old will be gratefully received by the editor, Mrs. Frank Hugh Montgomery, 5548 Woodland avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Toynbee Hall, London

A somewhat startling proposal was recently made by the Warden, Canon Barnett, that there should be no holidays in public elementary schools at all. The ensuing discussion, as to where London children spend their holidays was exceedingly interesting.

"It is probably safe to say," declares the *Toynbee Record*, "that the majority of Lon-

don school children never get out of the town for a single night throughout the summer holidays. A casual enquiry in a neighbouring school (Old Montague St.) gave the following results: Of 220 girls between 10 and 14 years of age, 128 had not been out of London for a single night during the holidays, 44 had had a fortnight under the Children's Country Holiday Fund, 48 appeared to have gone out with relations for a night or more. It is almost certain that the



Between the Covers of the MARCH DELINEATOR (Now On Sale)

a myriad of Styles for
Spring await you.

THE DELINEATOR is absolutely unique among the magazines of the world. As far back as your grandmother's time it was the American Woman's arbiter of style in dress. During the decades since, it has witnessed the birth of scores and hundreds of other magazines for woman—and watched the decline and final disappearance of most of them.

THE DELINEATOR was the first of them all, and is to-day the only one that has forged steadily ahead in popular favor, with never a disappointment given or received.

Nothing succeeds in a big way unless there's a sound reason for it. THE DELINEATOR'S world-wide success is due to just two things.

It has always led instead of followed, and it has always given more to each year's readers than during the preceding twelvemonth.

Take even last year's issues—by far the best up to then. Compare March with March. For instance, our recent arrangement with the greatest of Parisian designers gives us upwards of two hundred exclusive models each month. From these our experts here select the best for you and include with them the products of our New York designers, the best there are in this country.

You find the present number giving 70 distinct new styles (65 last year), 7 Spring styles in full color (none last year), 10 special articles on dress topics (8 last year), 12 pages devoted to the kitchen (10 last year), 41 pages to woman's home interests (23 last year), 24 pages to the child (18 last year). Many more high class illustrations throughout the entire magazine, and every department bettered.

No woman who cares for her own appearance or that of her family, no man who cares for the appearance of any woman, no home with a child in it can afford to miss the March DELINEATOR.

To those of you who are still unfamiliar with "the most necessary magazine for woman" this is an urgent invitation to read carefully this issue. It will suggest to you that the future numbers will make up what you have missed in the past.

Get YOUR copy To-day!

Of any newsdealer, or Butterick Agent, or direct of the Publishers at 15 cents per copy, or \$1 for an entire year.

THE BUTTERICK PUBLISHING CO., Limited, Butterick Building, NEW YORK

15c per copy
or \$1 yearly



When answering advertisements please mention THE COMMONS.

number 48 is too large; the inquirer found some difficulty in getting his questions clearly understood or the distinction made between going away for a day's outing and actually sleeping out of London for a night or more. The figures for the boys are certainly much more accurate. Of 198 boys, mostly between 11 and 14 years, 124 had not been out of London for a single night, 52 made use of the Fund, and 13 were taken to Camp by the Boys' Brigades, and 19 got out of London for a night or more in other ways. Some of these other ways meant two days, others five weeks. Southend was the most favourite resort. Of those who spent their holidays in London, some "explored London"—but this in most cases meant no more than a visit to Victoria Park; one or two went for a fortnight's change of air to Bermondsey; most, of course had spent their holidays in the streets; a whole class of girls gave as their main holiday amusement "playing at school!" This particular school is wholly Jewish, with a considerable proportion of immigrants. On this last ground it cannot safely be taken as typical; in other schools the parents might have better chances of sending their children to stay with relations. Yet the figures for one or two other schools in very different parts of London are similar. At Stephen Street School (Lisson Grove) 129 out of 355 boys, and 150 out of 347 girls, went into the country for at least one night, in one way or another. At Bell Street School, in the same district, the numbers were: 144 out of 394 boys, 156 out of 369 girls. At a school in Barnsbury, 168 boys and 138 girls went into the country out of a total of four or five hundred in each case. Of the boys 95, and of the girls 79, owed their holiday to the Children's Country Holiday Fund or some similar institution.

"One can quite understand that it may be much more than the mere desire to please 'teacher' that leads children, especially the younger ones who are not so free of the streets, to insist that they are glad to get back to school after the holidays."

Elizabeth Peabody House, Boston

Many interesting facts concerning the work of Elizabeth Peabody House are to be found in the annual report recently sent out. The progress of the work is made clear by the increase in number of clubs, and the trend of it is also indicated by the statement that "at the close of 1903, nine clubs were doing literary work, at the close of 1904, seven; while at the close of 1903 six clubs were doing manual work, at the close of 1904, nineteen." Special gifts year by year have enabled this change in the character of the work, a change quite in line with the de-

sires of those who know it best. The Jewish children who surround the settlement in large numbers are especially in need of manual work, and the boys even more than the girls because it is found that they are required to "spend long hours either before or after school sessions in their own homes, or in particularly unsanitary tenement house school-rooms, studying Hebrew." A singular fact noted is that while in most races the boys out-distance the girls in the manual training, the reverse is true in the case of the Jewish children.

A unique feature of the work is the establishment in the House of a receiving station for the Animal Rescue League. "During the months of June, July and August two hundred and forty-five animals were sent to the league, and many others, including birds, were chloroformed here." Three reasons are given to show the advisability of the plan. Many sick or injured animals are put out of pain, homeless cats wandering through the alleys and tenements and constantly handled by children, undoubtedly carry and spread the germs of tuberculosis and other diseases; and it affords a good opportunity to teach kindness instead of cruelty to dumb creatures.

Chicago Commons

A Neighborhood Council has always been a consummation of our settlement work devoutly to be wished. It took ten years for this castle of our dreams to come from air to earth. But time tells nowhere more surely than in consecutive, cumulative neighborhood work. A permanent personnel in residence is one of the first essentials to such results, both in the order of time and among the forces bringing things to pass. Continuity of interest and influence, steadily maintained by a single group, centering about the personality of one or more permanent residents, will surely bring together the most diverse people, even when many of them are in transition. They cannot be forced together, nor hastened very much. But they come of themselves into fellowship and co-operation, if only initiative be given, and a common ground be provided upon which they can meet to discuss each other and to interchange personal values. These two conditions can better be furnished by a settlement which is in the possession of a real democratic spirit than by any other agency. To the first call for a council the chosen representatives of seventeen organizations responded, including the neighboring public schools, organizations varying in purpose from pleasure clubs to a church society, and individual delegates differing as widely in nationality, creed and condition as does our cosmopolitan population.

The first business the Council set about at its initial meeting and before it completed



HERE IT IS!

Any **CLIPPING, PRICE LIST
BUSINESS DATA**, is instantly
at your finger's end if
you file it in

The Ready Reference Desk File

It's a systematized little savings bank for all your miscellaneous business memos. It's an indexed catch-all for your data, clippings, price lists. **Instantly available, always get-at-able.** Keeps your desk clean. Keeps your mind clear. Saves your time. Saves your temper.

What are you now doing with the little clippings, business information, price lists and all the miscellaneous matter that is constantly coming to your desk? Things you want—you need—must have for reference—sometimes impede your work now. You'll need it to-morrow, but it litters up your desk to-day. It stacks up. Every day increases the confusion. You jam it at random into pigeonholes, desk drawers, anywhere. To-morrow you search in vain for some clipping, information, quotation, etc.

Stop this worrying, time-killing habit **now** with

A READY REFERENCE FILE

It will save your brain, time and money to an extent far in excess of its cost.

We have on file testimonials unsolicited from such men as George H. Daniels, general passenger agent, New York; E. S. Lacy, ex-comptroller currency, president Bankers' National Bank, Chicago, and others equally prominent. One bank official writes confidentially that this outfit has enabled him to dispense with his filing clerk.

It will be found as valuable to you. If not, you get your money back.

SPECIAL OFFER:

A cabinet outfit complete, with fifty patent flexible indexed compartments, in handsome polished quartered-oak case, together with a complete card system for cross-reference, with 200 cards and guides, is catalogued and regularly sold at our factory for \$9.00 net. But in order to get the outfit in the hands of every **COMMONS** reader we will make the price \$7.50—transportation and packing charges prepaid. We don't expect to make a profit on these sales—that would be out of the question. But we are so confident that this cabinet will prove indispensable to you that we are willing to rely on your future orders for our compensation.

This low price offer we limit to three hundred cabinets, and we expect that these three hundred cabinets will go very quickly as soon as this advertisement appears. Send in your order to-day and insure yourself a cabinet at this special price.

If you desire more information regarding these cabinets, a postal will bring it.

To
Librar
Filing
Cabinet Co.

320 Wabash Ave.
CHICAGO

Enclosed find
\$7.50. for which please
send me one of your \$9.00
cabinets, charges prepaid.

Name

Address

BY SENDING THIS COUPON TO-DAY
SAVE \$1.50

Please mention **THE COMMONS** when writing to advertisers

its organization was to secure a delivery station of the public library at the settlement, to demand a better site and building for one of the public schools, and to start a weekly neighborhood newspaper. In the true settlement spirit, the residents of Chicago Commons are more than willing to give up anything their neighbors or the municipality will take up. For the "settlement" should be superseded by the neighborhood center as fast and far as it can be made the point, not merely of contact but of vital and permanent relationship for all the people. To be such a common denominator of the whole community—and not merely one more institution building itself up out of and distinct from the common life should be the highest aspiration of every settlement worthy of the name. Only by thus losing its life can it save the initiative, the ideal, and the human bond which are its life.

Our Day Nursery is obliging us to add to it a Night Nursery. For the industrial conditions which not only permit but force mothers of little children to work away from home at night make some nursery custody and care more necessary to safety of health and morals from 4 p. m. to midnight, than from 6 a. m. to dusk. Our West Chicago Ave. police station tells sorrowful tales of the indescribable enormities to which little girls are exposed during just these hours of greatest danger, when they are fatefully bereft of mother-care and too often of fatherly protection. Who will help us substitute the only shelter available for the little children and growing girls and boys who are thus deprived of adequate home care during the first half of the night? Who will give peace and assurance to the distracted hearts of night-working mothers, by adding enough resource to their ten cents daily to keep a child in the Settlement's care from the close of the afternoon session of school until its mother can call for it on her way home from work?

A determined effort is to be made by the warden and trustees of Chicago Commons to clear its building and adjoining lot of the \$9,200 floating indebtedness which has too long embarrassed the work of the settlement.

As the last \$1,200 have already been subscribed, we need \$8,000 to cancel all claims against the plant worth \$70,000. The payment of this small proportion of its cost permanently assures its possession, since the site is held subject to the condition that it cannot be mortgaged. Once for all then Chicago Commons can now be lifted out of debt. And it must be, if its work is to be safe-guarded against future contingencies, and the value of it conserved not only to the locality but far more to those wider public interests which it is recognized to serve.

Books Received

(To be reviewed later.)

Sociological Papers.

By Francis Galton, E. Westermarck, P. Geddes, E. Durkheim, Harold H. Mann and V. V. Branford. With an introductory address by James Bryce. 310 pp. 10 sh. 6 p. The Macmillan Company, London.

Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction.

At the thirty-first annual session held in Portland, Maine, June 15-22, 1904. Edited by Isabel C. Barrows.

Getting a Living.

The Problem of Wealth and Poverty—of Profits, Wages and Trade Unionism. By George L. Bolen. 769 pp. \$1.50 net. The Macmillan Company, New York.

Thoughts of a Fool.

By Evelyn Gladys. 258 pp. \$1.50. E. P. Rosenthal and Company, Chicago and London.

THE FOUR-TRACK NEWS

An Illustrated Magazine
of Travel and Education

MORE THAN 150 PAGES MONTHLY

Its scope and character are indicated by the following titles of articles that have appeared in recent issues; all profusely illustrated:

Among Golden Pagodas,	Kirk Monroe
Martinehead,	M. Imhof Taylor
A Study in Shells,	Dr. R. W. Shufeldt
Panto Domingo,	Frederick A. Ober
Eleven Hours of Afternoon,	Cy Warman
A Gala Night on the Neckar,	Kathleen L. Greig
Echoes From Sleepy Hollow,	Anna J. Craig
Golf in the Rockies,	Henry Russell Wray
In Barbara Freitchie's Town,	Thomas C. Harbough
Back of the Backwoods,	Charles Howard Sloan
A Feast of Music,	Jane W. Guthrie
Sailors' Sing Harbor,	Ernie H. Dean
Since Betty Galt's Poem,	Josephine Wilhem Ford
Niagara's Historic Environs,	Eben F. Dorr
In the Old Wood-Burner Days,	James O. Whittemore
The Land of Liberty and Legends,	Guy Morrison Walker
Nature's Treasure-house,	Earl W. Mayo
Down the Golden Yukon,	George Hyde Preston
Corral and Lasso,	Minnie J. Reynolds
Little Histories:	
An Historic Dervish,	Charlotte Philip
Where Lincoln Died,	Alexander Porter
The Poets' Corner,	Isabel H. Wallach
The Treason House,	William Watt

SINGLE COPIES 10 CENTS, or \$1.00 A YEAR.

Can be had of newsdealers, or by ad. ressing

GEORGE H. DANIELS, Publisher,

Room No. 62 7 East 42d St., New York

Small Parks and The Death Rate

There is a fascinating relation between the decrease in the death rate from tuberculosis, the tenement house law and the increase in small parks in New York City. The three are linked as closely as the departments of the Charity Organization Society which fostered them.

This Society and its weekly magazine, **Charities**, stand for a grist of preventive measures which have meant much to New York and are finding a practical bearing in other cities—Good Housing, Parks and Playgrounds, the Prevention of Preventable Disease, the fight against Pauperism, Mendicancy, Child Labor.

Tuberculosis is being fought by this Society, by the City Departments of Health, Charities, Tenements and Education, by private charitable organizations, the trades unions, settlements and a host of other agencies.

Charities follows this movement week after week, its news and progress and personalities, as it does all social activities.

Charities was used as campaign material in the reelection of Judge Lindsey as judge of the Denver Juvenile Court when he received 53,000 of the 54,000 votes cast. It has proved a help in furthering child labor legislation in a half dozen states. Jacob A. Riis has borne witness to its value as a spur to public opinion and a goad to tardy official action.

Is not this a magazine for you?

November special issue on the Slav in America--Complete-Sympathetic

SPECIAL TRIAL RATE, 33 WEEKLY ISSUES, \$1.00.

The Charity Organization Society, Publishers,
105 E 22d St., NEW YORK.

When answering advertisements please mention **THE COMMONS**.

COUNTRY TIME AND TIDE

A MAGAZINE OF A MORE PROFITABLE AND INTERESTING COUNTRY LIFE

THIS is no mere negative protest against commercialism and the dreadful country and city problems that follow in its wake, the congestion of the slums and their two room tenements and the abandoned farm and country decadence. Neither do we propose to work upon these symptoms, which is the antiquated method of "charity." It is not a question of country life or city life but the question of life itself. Our work is constructive almost wholly, which this little monthly book represents on its several sides of reform in *Industry, Recreation, Education, and Religion*. It represents the actual life of an educational community in Montague, Massachusetts, *New Clairvaux*, for restoring normal conditions of life.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY AT \$1.00 A YEAR SINGLE COPIES 10 CENTS

COUNTRY TIME & TIDE
MONTAGUE, MASSACHUSETTS

OUR PUBLICATIONS

The General Alliance of Workers with Boys offers for sale the following monographs and special articles on boys' work:

Street Boys' Clubs: a complete manual.

How to Start the leading forms of club work with boys.

Organized Work with Boys: street boys' and church boys' clubs.

A Directory of Work with Boys in America, invaluable for any one just starting a club.

Books about Boys: what to read to know the subject, and **Books for Boys**, the most valuable lists of boys' books extant.

Boys' Camps: the theory and practice of camps.

Moral and Religious Education: the latest methods for the betterment of boys.

The Working Boy: sixteen valuable and interesting articles on boy labor.

The Problems of the Individual Boy.

TWENTY-FIVE CENTS EACH.

WORK WITH BOYS: an Indispensable Magazine.

ONE DOLLAR A YEAR.

THOMAS CHEW, Treasurer,
FALL RIVER, MASS.

Please mention THE COMMONS when writing to advertisers.



SPIRO POWDER

The Daintiest
Toilet Powder Made

If there is one thing that SPIRO POWDER will do, and do it well, it will destroy the **odor of perspiration** on the body, feet, dress shields and clothing.

Sprinkle a little SPIRO POWDER on your dress shields before going to the dance and no odor will arise from your perspiring body.

Sprinkle a little on your hose or in your new shoes and you will be comfortable.

If every person was to sprinkle SPIRO POWDER on perspiring parts before going to a dance, house party, Church and places where they come in contact with others, the atmosphere will be pure and sweet.

The price is 25c per box at all druggists, or a free sample for the asking.

SPIRO POWDER COMPANY

500 Main St., Niagara Falls, N. Y.



Please mention THE COMMONS when writing to advertisers.

Tear This Page Out

The Editor of The Commons wants you to

Send it Back

Because:

THE COMMONS needs your advice on two matters of importance to the magazine and directly affecting your own interests as a reader and subscriber.

One year ago THE COMMONS decided to enlarge and improve its form and to raise its price to one dollar a year. This it did after submitting the proposition to its subscribers and receiving their favorable response. The result rested on how well you would stand by us. We believed that the magazine had a clear and distinctive field not adequately covered by any other periodical. We had faith that you would agree with us and that you would value the improved magazine to the extent of the increased subscription price. Your hearty appreciations which have poured in during the past months have shown how well justified was the confidence we put in your support.

Not only were we sustained in enlarging to 32 pages on the dollar basis; you have made it possible for us even to double that size and issue a 64 page magazine without further increase in price.

We now are sure that the unique point of view and scope of THE COMMONS appeal to a large and increasing number of people throughout the country. This fact and our reliance on a continuation of your cordial support lead us to contemplate *an additional enlargement and considerable improvement of the magazine over its present standards—with no change in the subscription price.*

We want your advice, therefore, on these two matters:

FIRST—Your criticism of the magazine as it now appears, and your suggestion for its improvement. Jot it down NOW in this space:

SECOND—To successfully plan for further enlargement and improvements we must look forward to an increase in the circulation. We have found that persons whom our friends know to be interested in what THE COMMONS stands for frequently become subscribers. We therefore ask you to sit down NOW and, using the space at the side, advise us of the addresses of ten or more of such as may be known to you.

Sent by _____
